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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

IRAN

PART 9

January to December 1955

SECRET

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING
IRAN—PART 9

NOTE

Although the word "Iran" was taken into official use in 1955, it has not been possible, owing to various reasons, to avoid the use of the word "Persia" throughout this print.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

No. 1

IRAN: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1954

(1)

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 7)

(No. 4. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tehran,
January 4, 1955.*

I have the honour to submit herewith my Annual Political Review for 1954, with a summary of the year's events attached as an appendix.

2. For the purpose of this report the year may be taken to begin with the resumption of diplomatic relations and the arrival in Tehran on December 21, 1953, of Mr. Denis Wright as chargé d'affaires with an initial party of thirteen. I did not appear on the scene myself till nearly two months later, viz. on February 18.

3. During these early months, culminating with the arrival in mid-February of a survey party representing the international oil consortium which had been provisionally agreed upon in London, General Zahedi's Government largely devoted themselves to searching with us and the Americans for a basis for an oil settlement and, as part of the process, to the re-establishment of good relations with Her Majesty's Government. Subsequently, until the initialling of the oil agreement in August, the energies of the Persian Government were almost entirely concentrated on the negotiation of an oil settlement with the consortium, while during the last few months of the year the Government had to start facing up to long-term internal problems, largely economic, but also arising out of the discovery of a widespread and serious Communist plot to overthrow the régime in the armed services.

4. Undoubtedly the central and main event of the year was the settlement of the oil dispute which had poisoned Anglo-Persian relations for many years, and eventually all but brought Persia to

economic ruin and communism. Heartened by the unexpected ease with which the public had swallowed the reopening of our embassy, General Zahedi and his Government though by no means firmly in the saddle—in which throughout the year they were precariously maintained by martial law, strict control of the press, suppression of inconvenient opposition and the election of a fairly carefully chosen and relatively supine Parliament—were determined to reach an oil settlement since they clearly recognised that without it there would be a return to the chaos which convulsed the country on the eve of General Zahedi's seizure of power in August 1953. Their own ideas of a settlement were vague and unreal, but they showed themselves willing to learn the facts of the world oil situation. The first big step forward was the decision of Her Majesty's Government to try for a solution along the lines of an international consortium of British, American, Dutch and French oil companies in which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (A.I.O.C.) would only have a 40 per cent. share; both to the Persian Government and to the man in the street the A.I.O.C. were still extremely suspect and any attempt to bring them back alone would almost certainly have resulted in failure and the collapse of the Zahedi Government.

5. The oil negotiations, though slow and tedious, were conducted in a spirit of mutual goodwill such as can seldom have been experienced by western negotiators with this fickle country; full credit for this must be given to the common sense and courage of the tireless and brilliant Minister of Finance, Dr. Amini, who led on the Persian side, as

well as to the flexibility and patience of the three consortium negotiators, Messrs. Page, Snow and Loudon respectively American, English and Dutch. The slowness and difficulties of the negotiation, to which the press devoted much space and speculation, at least served the purpose of preparing the ground for the acceptance by the Persians of a settlement which was far removed from their original aspirations. The main difficulty, as was anticipated, arose over the question of effective management of the oil fields and refinery, but a formula was, after much heart-searching, found that satisfied the Persian Government's ideas of sovereignty while giving the consortium the control they considered essential over the operations. On compensation, an explosive political issue for the Persians which almost up until the end seemed likely to prove a stumbling block to agreement, the Persians were brought, by the solid front maintained by the oil companies and by our own firmness, to realise that they could not get away without themselves paying something to the A.I.O.C., quite apart from the financial arrangements made between the A.I.O.C. and the other consortium members. In the end, perhaps partly as a result of the exaggeration by the press over many months of the A.I.O.C.'s claims and intransigencies, the Persians accepted the figure of £25 million payable over ten years as a not ungenerous settlement. Similarly, after a flat refusal at the outset, the Persian Government accepted sterling as the payment of currency for oil, in return for understandings regarding limited convertibility. The ultimate success of the negotiations was determined by the Shah. He hesitated long, due in part to dishonest advice from interested Persian politicians and hangers-on at court, who hoped to obtain money or advancement for themselves, to the effect that he could get a better arrangement by dealing direct with Her Majesty's Government, who were alleged to be only half-hearted in their support of the consortium. Eventually, however, he let it be known that the proposed agreement had his full support and exercised pressure on members of the Majlis and Senate to get it passed quickly and without fuss.

6. Apart from the major success of the oil settlement with its good effect on Anglo-Persian relations the Persian Government could, by the end of the year, rightly feel satisfied with the state of their foreign relations. For this they could be grateful

to the moderation, integrity and clear-mindedness of their Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdullah Entezam. As he told me soon after I first met him, he was determined to do all he could to resolve outstanding differences with Persia's neighbours. Negotiations with Russia on frontier and financial differences, which had been going on intermittently since 1950, were brought to a successful conclusion in December. The Russians, earlier in the year had done their best in their propaganda to spoil the oil negotiations, and to discredit Zahedi as the tool of the Americans. They had delivered a menacing note designed to frustrate any attempt by the Persians to join the Turkish-Pakistan Pact, and must have been embarrassed by the uncovering of the big Tudeh plot in August (though the Persian Government advisedly made no attempt to implicate the Soviet Embassy). It was noteworthy that the U.S.S.R. should have decided thus to come to terms with the Zahedi Government. There were occasional rumblings in the press about frontier differences with Iraq, particularly over the Shatt-ul-Arab, but the Persian Government did not seem to regard these as sufficiently important to warrant any special step to reach a settlement and indeed relations with Iraq, as with Turkey, were smooth and correct. Relations were less happy with Afghanistan and the old dispute over the Hirmand (Helmand) River waters seemed no nearer solution and by the end of the year showed signs of becoming a serious bone of contention and bitterness between the two countries. Hints which had been dropped at the beginning of the year that the Persians were likely to raise claims against Pakistan for a large slice of Baluchistan, were happily silenced by the transfer of their chief protagonist from his post of Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be Ambassador at The Hague. There remained however the old chestnut of Persian claims to Bahrain and the islands of Abu Musa and Tamb; the Minister for Foreign Affairs on more than one occasion told me that now that the oil problem was settled he hoped this remaining difference with us could be got out of the way, possibly by the Persians renouncing their claim to Bahrain in return for our recognition of their sovereignty over the other two islands. Although there is no sign that the Persians intend to force the pace on this issue, it was during the latter part of the year a source of considerable speculation in the press; while

the curious incident of a note on civil aviation matters, which was circularised without the knowledge and to the embarrassment of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to all foreign missions and which explicitly assumed Persian sovereignty over Bahrain, was an indication that this problem could easily be whipped up to become a serious source of trouble in our relations with Persia; for, in spite of the present cordial relations there is no doubt much deep-rooted suspicion remains and will take years to dispel.

7. The signature of the Turkish-Pakistan Defence Pact and of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement in which an attack on Turkey (but not on Persia) was made a condition for the reactivation of the Base, served to remind the Persians and particularly the Shah that in spite of the activities of the large American Military Mission they were isolated and weak. This in turn led to increasing speculation as to the Persian rôle in Middle East defence, but though many, headed by the Shah, believed that the Persian army should, like that of Turkey, be strengthened by American and British aid, there was a general feeling that the time was not yet ripe for Persia to enter any Middle East defence system, though undoubtedly it would have pleased Persian pride to have been invited to do so.

8. But for the substantial financial aid provided by the Americans (emergency aid to the tune of some \$40 million, as well as Point Four and military aid) it is doubtful whether the Government could have kept afloat. To tide the economy over until the oil revenues begin to come in in any volume, additional American aid as well as credits or swing arrangements made with the United Kingdom, Germany, France and others will continue to be necessary. A mere trickle of oil was exported during the year (mostly to Japan and Italy in fulfilment of long-term barter deals which were to prove an embarrassment once an oil agreement was signed), and in consequence there was throughout the year an acute shortage of foreign exchange. But though the country's economy was in a parlous condition the hope of an early oil settlement was sufficient to attract large numbers of businessmen to Tehran from most of the countries of Western Europe, as well as America and Japan. British firms, in the face of intense and often unscrupulous competition were able to land big orders, not, however, without causing considerable misgivings to the United States Embassy

who came increasingly to feel that the American taxpayer would ultimately be called upon to pay for the many commitments upon which the Persian Government's various departments seemed all too willing to embark without any co-ordinated scheme of priorities or availability of foreign exchange. Commercial rivalry between ourselves and our competitors showed signs of providing the Persians with the instrument for use in their national game of playing off one country against another.

9. At the end of the year General Zahedi's position was probably firmer than it was at the beginning. Amongst his major achievements were the resumption of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom, the oil agreement, the establishment of security and the uprooting of a widespread Tudeh military plot, the agreement with the Soviet Union, and the strengthening of Persia's international position. However, although these were generally acknowledged even by his opponents there were serious doubts whether he would last many months longer. He had neither strong popular following nor qualities likely to inspire the masses, amongst whom there still seemed to exist, despite everything that had happened, a lingering affection of Musaddeq as a national hero who had unfortunately been misguided by his entourage. And there was much talk of corruption which, if it could not be easily substantiated as regards Zahedi himself, certainly seemed justified in the case of rather too many of his friends and close collaborators. Nor could Zahedi be sure of the firm support of his Sovereign, who, rather typically, showed himself jealous and suspicious of his Prime Minister and vacillated in his attitude towards him, although towards the end of the year, primarily because the Shah was determined to go abroad for a holiday and to leave things as they were until his return, there was something of a lull in the more active manoeuvres against the Prime Minister. Another not very reassuring sign in the eyes even of Persians not unsympathetic to Zahedi's efforts was a growing tendency towards autocracy and yet further appointments of military men to various posts in the administration. There were, however, several able and a few honest Ministers in Zahedi's Cabinet, and the Government showed some signs that its talk of economic and social reform might go further than mere words. One of these was the appointment at the Shah's instigation of Mr. Abdul Hasan Ebtehaj, a man of

undoubted integrity and energy, as managing director of the Seven Year Plan Organisation. Another, probably less important, was the creation of an Economic Council with the Prime Minister in the chair. At the same time the Prime Minister seemed insufficiently aware of his own lack of popularity and indeed of the extent and seriousness of the internal social and economic problems facing the country. It therefore remains to be seen whether the widespread feeling in Persia that fundamental reforms are urgently needed to save the country from eventual revolution will be implemented by a Government composed almost entirely of members (in the majority of cases unfortunately not the best) of the privileged class whose selfishness, inertia and corruption are traditional.

10. Looking back on the eventful year which has just ended, I have three prevailing impressions. The first relates to the potency of the Shah's influence. The demand for his return in August 1953 proved the popularity of the monarchy; his decisive stand on the oil question illustrated his power, when he chooses to exercise it. There are signs that he intends to do so increasingly and will become less and less content to be a constitutional monarch. Whether his influence will be beneficial and effective will depend partly on the advice he receives and partly on his ability and that of his Ministers to make the Governmental machinery execute policy effectively and expeditiously.

11. My second impression is that the future of Western influence in this country depends upon Anglo-American solidarity. This has been amply shown by the events of 1954 and happily the consortium provides what I hope will prove a permanent manifestation of Anglo-American co-operation. By standing together we can between us exercise a predominant influence except in the face of a Communist or Communist-influenced régime. It will however be extremely difficult to find a better and more loyal colleague than Mr. Loy Henderson, the United States Ambassador, who, to my regret, was transferred to Washington in the last days of the year.

12. My third impression is that it has been a good thing for Anglo-Persian relations that they were broken off for fourteen months. Largely, if not entirely as a result of Persian idiosyncracies, a deep slime of suspicion had accumulated round the base of our official outposts and of

British activities in Persia in general. With continuity it could not have been dissipated; as it is we have managed to put down new foundations which are relatively free of accumulated deposits. Our efforts are bent towards keeping them in this condition by having only direct dealings with the Government and by doing our best to discredit the many former hangers-on who claim to have contact with us and to speak on our behalf. I have reason to think that this "new look" has made some impression at least on members of the Government.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

Enclosure

Summary of the Year's Events

1953

December

Mr. Wright and party arrived in Tehran on December 21, on the resumption of Anglo-Persian relations. On the same day Mussaddeq was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

1954

January

Polling for the Majlis started in the provinces in the second half of the month, without serious disturbances.

February

The announcement early in the month of Her Majesty's Government's willingness to discuss an oil settlement based on an international consortium (which had been taken for granted for some weeks beforehand) was well received. As a preliminary to negotiations a survey party representing the oil companies concerned (A.I.O.C., Shell, Standard New Jersey, Gulf, Socony-Vacuum, Texas, Standard California and the Compagnie Française de Pétroles) visited the Abadan refinery and the oil fields.

Polling in the Senate elections started early in the month. In Tehran there were some quickly suppressed anti-Government demonstrations and a few casualties.

I arrived on February 18 and presented my credentials to the Shah on February 25. He received me cordially and spoke at length on his desire to see Persia militarily strong.

The press campaigned against Afghanistan over the Hirmand (Helmand) River dispute.

The Soviet-Persian talks on financial and frontier matters were resumed.

Towards the end of the month the Government summoned up the courage to issue a statement attacking Ayatullah Kashani, who had been showing increasing hostility to an oil settlement.

March

There were strong rumours during the month of increasing friction between the Shah and the Prime Minister.

Polling in the Tehran Majlis elections concluded on March 11 with relatively little trouble, and on

March

March 18 the Senate and Majlis were inaugurated by the Shah, before elections for either House had been completed. Relatively few genuine opposition elements were elected and there was unusually heavy criticism of the Government for rigging the elections.

After two months of relative cordiality towards us the Persian press launched a violent tirade against the idea of paying compensation to the A.I.O.C. for loss of future profits. The Persian Government took effective steps to restore calm.

Dr. Husain Fatemi (Mussaddeq's Minister for Foreign Affairs) was arrested after seven months in hiding.

The United States Government made a grant of \$6 million emergency aid to Persia.

April

Negotiations for an oil settlement began on April 14 between representatives of the Consortium and the Persian Government. Parallel Persian-British talks on compensation for the A.I.O.C. and on "payments" (i.e., convertibility facilities for Persia's oil revenues) were also begun.

When the Majlis and Senate were formally constituted in the latter half of the month General Zahedi tendered his formal resignation and was re-appointed by the Shah. His new Government (in which there was no significant change) received solid votes of confidence from both Houses.

The hearing of Mussaddeq's appeal against his sentence was begun after months of delay.

The Minister of Finance issued a statement foreshadowing a budget deficit in 1954-55 of 6,000 million Rials, assuming no oil revenues. The Bank Melli withdrew 64½ million Rials from the note circulation (making a total withdrawal, since Zahedi came to power, of 16½ million).

May

The Consortium delegation returned to London for Consultation.

The Court of Appeal confirmed Dr. Mussaddeq's sentence of three years' detention dating from his arrest in August 1953. Dr. Baqa'i was arrested for trouble-making in Kerman (one of the few constituencies where polling had not yet taken place) and for some time deported elsewhere in the country.

The midnight curfew in Tehran was raised for the mourning month of Ramadan and not subsequently reimposed.

The budget for 1954-55 was presented to the Majlis. The United States Government granted a further 9 million dollars emergency aid.

There were serious floods in Khuzistan.

June

The Consortium negotiations were resumed in Tehran. Mr. Howard Page (Standard New Jersey) replacing as leader Mr. Harden (of the same company) who retired for health reasons.

The Government presented a Bill to Parliament affirming Persia's rights over the continental shelf in the Gulf, but without defining the area claimed.

A Bill was introduced (and later passed) reducing the note cover from 100 per cent. (which it had not, in fact, been for years) to 40 per cent.

July

The Persian Government firmly rejected a Soviet *démarche* warning them not to enter into "aggressive agreements" and reminding them of their "obligations" under the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1927. They affirmed Persia's right to enter into regional defence agreements, should she so

July

wish, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The Shah toured Azarbaijan, where he was greeted with enthusiasm.

Cloudbursts caused severe damage and loss of life in the Elburz mountains north of Tehran. Relief from abroad included medical supplies from Her Majesty's Government.

The United States Government granted a further \$1 million emergency aid.

August

It was announced on August 5 that agreement in principle had been reached in the oil negotiations. The full agreement was initialled on August 31. An *Aide Mémoire* on compensation had previously been initialled on August 4.

An extensive Tudeh organisation operating in the military and security forces was uncovered and numerous arrests made.

The Majlis approved a Bill (which became law in November) revoking Mussaddeq's decree-laws, except those which the Government might apply to retain.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed a Note to foreign missions in Tehran affirming, in the context of flights by civil aircraft, Persia's sovereignty over Bahrain. I returned the Note which had been issued without the Minister for Foreign Affairs' knowledge.

New foreign exchange rates increasing the value of the rial by approximately 8 per cent. came into force on August 27.

The Government reduced the price of Government controlled bread by 25 per cent.

Mr. Abul Hasan Ebtehaj was appointed head of the Seven Year Plan Organisation vice Mr. Panahi, deceased.

The United States Government granted a further \$10 million emergency aid.

September

The oil agreement was signed in Tehran, London, Amsterdam and New York between September 19 and 21. It was presented to the Parliament on September 21, to the Senate on September 22 and referred to a special committee of both Houses for examination.

Trials of ringleaders in the military conspiracy began. Tudeh printing presses and propaganda distribution centres were discovered in Tehran, and the Tudeh's propaganda activities were severely curtailed. The Soviet Ambassador protested against the anti-Soviet attitude of the Persian press.

The Persian Government found themselves in acute foreign exchange difficulties and had to introduce various restrictions, including suspension of most sterling payments.

October

The Shah publicly announced himself in favour of the oil agreement. The special Parliamentary Committee endorsed it, and the Majlis and Senate passed it by overwhelming votes on October 21 and 28 respectively. The Shah signed it on October 29 and the first Consortium tankers loaded at Abadan the following day. An Anglo-Persian inter-Governmental exchange of letters covering the parallel "payments" arrangements took place on October 25.

Prince Ali Reza, the Shah's "unofficial" heir presumptive, was killed in an air accident.

Sixteen of the military conspirators were executed with gory publicity and others sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, including life. Fatemi was

October

sentenced to death. The Government introduced a Bill proposing more stringent anti-Communist measures.

The Minister of War announced that the Government intended to disarm the tribes, starting with the Qashqa'is, against whom operations of a sort were begun.

The Iraqi Minister of the Interior visited Persia to discuss, *inter alia*, frontier affairs and anti-Communist co-operation.

The Government set up an Economic Council, headed by the Prime Minister, to co-ordinate economic policy.

November

Fatemi was executed on November 10. So during the month were five more officers involved in the military conspiracy. Numerous sentences of imprisonment were also passed. A Tudeh arms depot was discovered in Tehran. The Government announced that it had penetrated the Tudeh Youth Organisation successfully.

The Shah made a series of forthright statements emphasising the need for social justice and reform. Serious differences were reported in the Cabinet and in the Seven-Year Plan Organisation on economic policy.

A number of Deputies proposed the holding of a special Parliamentary Congress to consider constitutional reform, including an extension of the Majlis term of office from two years to four and an increase in the number of Deputies. (This proposal was still pending at the end of the year.)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs made an official request to me to open a Consulate in Kuwait.

The United States Government granted a further \$5 million emergency aid and offered loans totalling U.S. \$83 million. Her Majesty's Government offered a credit of £10 million.

Important trade and payments negotiations with Germany (including a short-term clearing credit of \$8 million) were concluded in Tehran.

December

The Shah and Queen Soraya left for the United States on December 5.

The Persian Government agreed to our opening Consulates at Khorramshahr and Tabriz.

By the end of the year some 150 members of the military conspiracy had been tried and at least 500 more were believed to be awaiting trial. There were no further executions in December and many death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

A Soviet-Persian agreement on frontier and financial claims was signed in Tehran on December 2 and submitted to the Persian Parliament for ratification.

The Persian Government addressed a note to the Afghan Government calling for direct talks between the two countries on the Hirmand River dispute.

The Arab League's rejection of Persia's claim to Bahrain revived comment on this issue.

The more troublesome Qashqa'i Khans left the country after reaching a *modus vivendi* with the Government, probably including a token hand-over of arms.

Majlis elections were at last held in Kerman (the "official" candidates winning) and the Government announced that elections would soon be held in the few constituencies still unrepresented. There was a minor Cabinet reshuffle.

There was much criticism of the Government's decision to raise bread prices again.

The Government introduced a Bill designed to encourage foreign investment and, after the pace had been set by some rich merchants in the Senate, another proposing the abolition of the so-called Government monopoly of foreign trade. They announced that they proposed to present a Bill revaluing Persia's gold and foreign exchange holdings to enable them, amongst other things, to increase the note circulation against the existing cover.

Heavy rain and floods in central and southern Persia caused much damage and some loss of life.

The United States Government granted a further \$7.8 million emergency aid.

On December 29 Mr. Loy Henderson, American Ambassador to Persia since 1951, left on transfer.

years past had steadily increased their strength. Again some reservation is necessary, since the Iranian Government have succeeded so far only in the negative task of repression and have barely begun that of removing the root causes of Communism. Nevertheless, the net result at the end of the year was a substantial and obvious improvement of internal security.

4. Our main political objective in Iran is that the country should achieve stability and economic and social progress, first so that she may more effectively resist Russian penetration in all its forms; and secondly, because that is essential to the endurance of the oil settlement which is our major commercial interest in Iran. But we can do no more to this end than to give such advice and help as circumstances will allow. I recognise that comparatively autocratic government by the Shah and his nominees is likely, for years to come, to be the form of administration best suited to Iran's present needs.

5. The only political difference now between Her Majesty's Government and the Iranian Government is the latter's territorial claims in the Persian Gulf. Even if this dispute still proves insoluble I trust that it will remain as minor an issue as it has been for much of the past 80 years. For the present, therefore, I see no reason why the recent improvement of Anglo-Iranian relations should not be maintained, and I believe that we should now be able to make increasing use of it to further our remaining objects in Iran. The first of these is an increase in the volume of British trade. Cautiously and with some qualifications, we should encourage Iran's progress towards defence association with her neighbours and the West, and we should attempt to make increasing use of any help which she can give in the United Nations and generally in the international sphere.

I have, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

EP 1011/1

(2)

Sir Anthony Eden to Sir Roger Stevens

(No. 23. Confidential)

Sir,

Foreign Office,

February 12, 1955.

The annual political review forming your Excellency's despatch No. 4 of the 4th of January has been read with great interest.

2. I share the impressions recorded in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12 of your despatch. I agree that the increasing personal authority of the Shah has been one of the important developments of the year. He has certainly begun to show signs of growing confidence and decision. I am encouraged to believe that Anglo-Iranian relations may now be upon a sounder basis than for many years past. A recent conversation which the Shah held with a close friend indicates that, for the first time, even he has now no complaint to make of Her Majesty's Government or their representatives in Tehran.

3. I would add two impressions to those which you record. The first is that in 1954 Iran took a surprisingly long step away from her traditional policy of neutrality and towards an alignment with the West. It is by no means certain that this process will continue, and in some circumstances it could no doubt easily be reversed. But the trend at least has been unmistakable. Secondly, it seems that the tide turned against those Communist forces within Iran which for some

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No. 2

**AUDIENCE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE WITH HIS IMPERIAL
MAJESTY THE SHAH OF IRAN ON FEBRUARY 17, 1955**

Sir Anthony Eden to Sir Roger Stevens (Tehran)

(No. 31. Secret)

Foreign Office.

Sir, February 17, 1955.

I had an audience with the Shah this morning when we discussed the Middle Eastern situation.

2. The Shah made it plain that he thought that his country should join either a pact with Turkey and Pakistan or a pact with Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan. Indeed, he maintained that other arrangements such as that between Turkey and Iraq would have little meaning strategically unless Persia were a party to them. Any Russian routes southwards either to Pakistan or to the Persian Gulf or to the oilfields, would have to pass through his country. On the other hand, he did not want to join a pact until his country was in a position to contribute something. One could not enter empty-handed into an arrangement of this kind. Therefore it seemed to him urgent to get on with the business of making his country ready to take its part. For this purpose he thought that it would be well to have early staff talks with Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey.

3. The problem for Persia was not only that of equipment, forces and training but also a decision as to the rôle which Persia should play. His people would not be content merely to allow other countries to make use of their country or to enter their country for its defence. They must play a part too. As against this he fully understood the need for economic development and he could not sacrifice the progress of his people. The oil revenues must go into the development plans which had been worked out. Therefore finance was a problem.

4. The Shah warmly welcomed the improved relations between our two countries. He said that the past differences ought never to have been allowed to occur. He expressed his regard for you and for the whole spirit in which Her Majesty's Government were now conducting their relations with Persia. He expressed the view that our country had a very special position in the world which gave it exceptional authority. Everybody knew

that our purpose was peace, while our experience made it possible for us to give a lead which the nations would follow. As an example the Shah instanced the situation in Europe last autumn and the part we had played in it to which he paid a warm tribute.

5. The above is a summary of the Shah's comments although they flowed from an exchange of conversation between us. He summed up by asking whether Her Majesty's Government were in general agreement with his thesis. I said that in principle I felt sure that we thought it the right answer that Persia should associate herself with her neighbours Turkey, Pakistan and Iraq, for mutual defence. There was, however, an important question of timing about which I did not feel able to pronounce. Only His Majesty and his Government could judge when the state of mind of his people would be such as to justify as important a step as joining a pact of this character. The Shah agreed with this but said that he felt sure that his people would follow him in the matter. At the same time, he did not propose to rush into action. I expressed some doubt as to whether it was advisable to hold even staff talks at this stage until some progress had been made with building up Persia both economically and militarily. After all, staff talks between Turkey, Persia and Pakistan could hardly be regarded by his northern neighbour with a friendly eye. The Shah admitted this but added—what could they do? I said that I understood that at present Moscow was not actively unfriendly. The Shah said that this was true. I added that in the circumstances it might be wiser to go on with plans and preparation while this atmosphere continued. One of the advantages of the nuclear age was that large forces might not play so large a part in future wars as they had done in the past. It might no longer be so true that God was on the side of the big battalion. Small mobile forces with a high proportion of armour might be more appropriate. The Shah said that he agreed with this.

6. As for the economic position, I was very glad to hear what the Shah had said.

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The essential was to create a broad based national prosperity in all the countries of the Middle East if we were to resist the advance of communism. It was with this in mind that we had been glad to give Persia assistance with a small loan. The Shah said that he had been grateful for this and added that there was a sphere in which we could give his country important help which would not cost us much money. And that was forestry. I knew Persia and could therefore understand what value intelligent forestry schemes could have for the future of his country. He knew what valuable work we had done in this connexion in the past in India and were still doing in Cyprus. I said that I would gladly look into this and I felt sure that we would be ready to do anything we could to help. In conclusion I told the Shah that as he would be aware, we had no concern in respect of Persia except to see her strong and prosperous. The Middle Eastern situation was now

showing in certain respects some improvement and we would continue our present policies.

7. In a reference to Egypt, the Shah said that the country was young in political experience, and Nasser had not the same advantages of tradition and a constitutional position to support him as he had in Persia. Iraq, he thought, was more fortunate in this respect. We briefly discussed the differences between the Arabs and Israel and the Shah said no more than that he thought that in time some arrangement could be found.

8. I thought the Shah in good health and spirits. He seemed most friendly and pleased with the policy we had been following towards his country.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Ankara, Bagdad and Washington.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

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EP 1103/4/55

No. 3

THE IRANIAN SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received February 25)(No. 23. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
February 22, 1955.*

It is not too much to say that the future of Iran depends on the proper execution of its development plans and that the key figure in the forthcoming political crisis is the Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation, M. Abul Hasan Ebtehaj. The present juncture, when both economic planning and overt political activity are virtually in suspense pending the Shah's return, is no bad moment to make an assessment of Iran's development planning and her Chief Planner; and this is what I now have the honour to do.

2. The Seven-Year Plan Organisation dates from the pre-Musaddeq period. It was conceived in 1947, and was destined to embrace the various branches of Iranian economy, including provision for education, hygiene, social and administrative reform; a contract for its execution was concluded with an American Group "Overseas Consultants Incorporated" in late 1948. The law inaugurating the Plan Organisation was passed by the Majles in February 1949, and established the Organisation's terms of reference as follows: planning; technical and financial supervision of all work undertaken; co-ordination and financial administration of Plan projects; drawing up of yearly balance sheets and publication of quarterly reports. The provisions of this formation charter likewise made it incumbent upon all other Ministries, State administrations and enterprises to concert with the Plan Organisation on independent development projects falling within their respective spheres.

3. A law of 1949 authorised the Plan Organisation to set up the "Plan Bank" (Bank-e-Barnameh), which eventually commenced functioning in July 1951. The Director-General of the Organisation and members of the Supervisory Board and High Council were appointed on May 3, 1949. In July of that same year the first expenditure for development work was authorised by the Government, and the Plan Organisation commenced its functions, drawing up, initially, a list of twelve projects necessitating a total investment of approximately 1,606 milliard rials.

4. Thereafter progress was, however, recorded largely on paper only. An impressive report was produced and various industrial projects including State factories launched but in the course of 1950 relations between the Iranian Government and the Overseas Consultants Incorporated deteriorated and at the end of the year the contract was terminated. Thereafter, largely owing to the oil controversy and drying up of the oil revenues, on which the Seven-Year Plan Organisation mainly depended, it remained virtually moribund until the summer of 1954. Potentially it occupied a central place in the administration of Iran's economy; actually it lacked money, drive and authority.

5. With the appointment of M. Abul Hasan Ebtehaj as Director in August 1954, the situation changed rapidly. The prospective oil agreement carried a promise of large revenues; M. Ebtehaj provided the drive (indeed, rather more than was good for the machine) and the Shah, backing him fully, the necessary authority. The task which he had to face was herculean in scope. He inherited a large staff of uneven quality, some of whom exhaled more than a whiff of corruption. One of his first jobs was to ascertain what contractual commitments the Iranian Government, whether through the Plan Organisation or otherwise, had entered into before his arrival. There was apparently no consolidated list of such commitments, though they totalled some £30 million, still less any attempt to co-ordinate them or relate them to Iran's requirements, not to mention her ability to pay. He then had to sort out these commitments into those which were irrevocable and those to which critical scrutiny could still usefully be applied. While this process was in train he imposed a standstill on all projects and only after taking stock authorised the continuation or initiation of negotiations on some of the more essential ones. He also found the Plan Organisation saddled with the management of a number of textile and other factories running at a loss. The scope of the Plan Organisation's authority and its relations with other Ministries were far from clear; M. Ebtehaj decided to pursue a policy of definition by challenge. There was the crucial question of what proportion of the oil revenues were to be devoted

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to development and expendable through the Plan. His central task was to draft, if possible within six months, a main development plan (to supersede the original Plan) which would catch the imagination and thus provide an answer to impatient reformers and destructive opponents.

6. Despite the most acute personal and jurisdictional difficulties (see below) M. Ebtehaj has a number of achievements to his credit. He has brought in one or two officials of tried reliability though he cannot, however, be said to have achieved an efficient organisation. He has arrived at decisions about the broader fields of development, viz., roads, ports, railways, airfields and cement works to which early priority should be given. He has reached the sensible conclusion that in each of these fields the Plan Organisation should rely on the advice and supervision of firms of foreign consulting engineers on whose advice contractors will be engaged. He has registered some progress in making appointments and concluding contracts in these fields. He has virtually hived off the State-owned industries from the rest of the Plan Organisation and has brought in some American consultants, paid for by Point IV, to advise him *inter alia* upon their reorganisation for eventual disposal into private hands, once they have been rendered self-supporting. He has succeeded in obtaining for development purposes the bulk of the oil revenues and has thus obtained a virtual stranglehold on the development programmes of other departments; only the National Iranian Oil Company and the Municipalities (of which Tehran, the most important, is run by his brother) are outside his exacting control. He has maintained close contact with the World Bank on whom he relies for impartial advice in all matters from the cradle to the grave, and he is actively seeking the employment of foreign experts. His budget covering initial expenditure of some 26 million rials has recently been approved by the relevant Parliamentary Commission. He has retained the confidence of the Shah; has continued to enjoy the support of M. Ala, Minister of Court and M. Entezam, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and has handled his relations with the Minister of Finance over the oil revenues with considerable skill and success.

7. On the other hand, the Plan Organisation has run into serious difficulties many of which are of M. Ebtehaj's own making. His relations with his own staff have left much to be desired and he has got rid of a number of assistants who might have proved useful to him. He seems to be incapable not merely of devolving work upon others but even of trusting any of his compatriots to do a reasonably good job in any field. It is this peculiarity, I think, which lies at the base of much of his policy and explains the strong resentment which his name evokes among many of his fellow Iranians. He has conducted a ruthless battle against corruption not merely in his own entourage but wherever it can be even suspected. This, again, has made him many enemies among those who regard what are popularly known as commissions as a rightful perquisite of public office in this country. His mistrust of his own people, too, has led M. Ebtehaj to evolve elaborate plans for the employment of foreign experts not only as consultants but also in key positions within the Plan Organisation itself on two-year contracts. A limited number of such experts well qualified in particular fields will by all accounts be essential if the initial stages of the development programme are to run smoothly. They are needed *inter alia* to push the Iranians into organising even the most elementary kind of preliminary research into their resources, &c.; the preparation of the main development plan (see paragraph 5 above) really awaits their appointment. M. Ebtehaj has at last reconciled himself to the fact that they will have to be paid for out of the Iranian budget. Much will, however, depend on the availability, selection and placing of a limited number of such experts. They will have a strenuous task ahead and past examples are not encouraging. But the prize which would crown success may appear worth the effort. One thing which seems fairly certain is that if M. Ebtehaj does succeed in obtaining the services of a number of foreign experts it will be very much in the interest of the Western Governments that M. Ebtehaj himself should remain at the head of the Plan Organisation until their contracts are completed or at least their work is fully launched. It is certain that the removal of M. Ebtehaj would be accompanied by all the manifestations of a palace revolution and almost inevitable that the foreign experts should be kicked out and the prestige of the Governments who helped to supply them bruised in the process.

8. It is common knowledge that M. Ebtehaj's relations with many of those with whom he most needs to co-operate closely are deplorable. First and foremost there is the Prime Minister, General Zahedi, with whom he has not been on speaking terms for nearly three weeks. The clash arises partly through

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incompatibility of temperament and partly because the Prime Minister through impatience to have something to show quickly, or for other reasons, has seen fit to interfere with the day-to-day working of the Plan Organisation and particularly with M. Ebtehaj's schemes for the employment of foreign consultants and contractors. His relations with certain departmental Ministers, notably the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Roads and Communications and the Minister of Post and Telegraphs, are also very bad; these Ministers consider that the Plan Organisation is interfering unwarrantably in the Departments' affairs and they resent the treatment which has been meted out to them by M. Ebtehaj in committees. He also has many enemies, and many critics who are not enemies, in Parliament. Most serious of all, perhaps, he has entirely failed to enlist any support from the business community which he despises and who are violently prejudiced against him because his plans cut across their interests and because they know he is pledged to fight corruption. It is commonly believed that were it not for the fact that he continues to enjoy the support of the Shah he would no longer be in office.

9. On the other hand, I do not know that the position is any worse in these respects, except for his relations with the Prime Minister, than it was several months ago. Soon after he took office it was freely predicted that he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Experience suggests, however, that this is a chronic state and, indeed, that he thrives on controversy and displays of temper. Dr. Millspaugh writing of him in 1950 said: "One soon took note or heard of his nervousness, his incredible hot temper, his inclination to ride rough-shod over opposition, and his dictatorial properties." It is even possible that if he is able to extend his control and achieve his ambition of being an economic dictator he will calm down; I am told that while employed by the International Monetary Fund with a definite sphere of operation he was relatively calm and detached. There is, however, a serious doubt in my mind as to whether he will ever enjoy satisfactory relations with any Prime Minister unless the latter is prepared to give way to him on almost every point or is strong enough firmly to circumscribe his field of activity.

10. The decision whether M. Ebtehaj goes or stays, with the Government inevitably to some extent re-formed round him, will have to be taken soon after the Shah's return. It would be rash to prophesy, but I think the probabilities are he will remain. How long he will be able to continue in office, given the stresses and strains to which his temperament give rise, is inevitably a matter for speculation. My own view, however, is that the longer he can stay the better are the prospects that a coherent development plan properly related to the economic needs of the country can be put into motion. The way will be rough and strenuous but without M. Ebtehaj I fear that it will not be traversed at all. Mr. Prud'homme of the International Bank told me recently that after carefully considering all M. Ebtehaj's defects and the qualities of other aspirants for his job, he had come to the conclusion that there was no one else in the country who could do it a quarter as well or who could touch M. Ebtehaj's energy, honesty, determination and practical financial experience. I therefore believe that if M. Ebtehaj is confirmed in his office it would appear on present showing to be in our interest as well as that of Iran to help him in any way we reasonably can. It will be desirable and, indeed, necessary to take into account the methods which he proposes to use for employing consultants and contractors, his preference for direct dealings, his abhorrence of corruption and his determination to centralise as much as possible in his own hands and to limit the negotiating responsibility of other departments. If he applies to us for the services of experts, clearly the financial conditions and the terms of their employment will require most careful scrutiny and I would certainly recommend that there be not too many British experts and that they are not placed in politically exposed positions. Nevertheless, I believe that we should do well to lend a sympathetic ear to his requests. Moreover, he will need to move very quickly if he is not to become the target for the criticism that after six, nine or twelve months in office he has no concrete achievement to his credit and has not even produced a central development plan.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to the British Middle East Office (Development Division), to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, to Her Majesty's Treasury and to Her Majesty's Treasury's Middle East Representative in Cairo.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

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EP 1941/44

No. 4

ANGLO-IRANIAN RELATIONS

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received February 25)

(No. 22. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tehran,
February 23, 1955.*

I have the honour to report that the majority of the leading Tehran newspapers have taken the opportunity afforded by the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom to publish articles on Anglo-Iranian relations, in addition to giving very full accounts on which I shall be reporting separately, of the activities of His Majesty and Queen Soraya.

2. These articles have, without exception, been friendly by any standards and markedly so by those of the Iranian Press which so often manages to combine fulsomeness with insincerity and even malice. On this occasion, however, it is difficult to detect any discordant note except, perhaps, an oracular hint or two that the Iranians expect us to continue to show goodwill in the tangible form of financial aid or of political concessions (presumably as regards Bahrain, though this is not specifically mentioned). While most newspapers more or less openly attribute the break in diplomatic relations primarily or exclusively to our transgressions they all urge that the past should be forgotten and unreservedly praise the "new look" in British policy towards Iran since the resumption of relations. Her Majesty's Government, they state, have cast off the shackles of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and have shown an awareness of Iran's rights and national aspirations; Her Majesty's Government are clearly anxious to see Iran strong, prosperous and independent; the Iranians in turn look forward to ever closer friendship and co-operation; the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom heralds a new era in Anglo-Iranian relations; and, some papers imply, ultimate Iranian participation in a regional defence agreement.

3. Too much importance should not, of course, be attached to these professions of friendship. Nevertheless, they are encouraging even given that they are made in the context of the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom which was bound to be represented as an unqualified success. The Iranian Press is not all that closely controlled, at any rate in its comment on foreign affairs. It is admittedly inspired, in the sense at least that it generally pays for the majority of papers to express views which they think will be pleasing to the Government of the day, in the absence of any special axe to grind in a contrary sense. But even allowing for this, the comments represent a remarkable testimonial to what General Zahedi and his Government have been able to achieve in improving Anglo-Iranian relations. A year ago, it would have been hard to visualise articles being written in such terms.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington.

I have, &c.,

R. B. STEVENS.

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EP 1941/43

No. 5

VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE
SHAH OF IRAN AND QUEEN SORAYA, FEBRUARY 1955

Sir Anthony Eden to Sir Ralph Stevens (Tehran)

(No. 32. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *February 25, 1955.*

The visit to this country of His Imperial Majesty The Shah of Persia and Queen Soraya concluded with their departure by aeroplane to Germany at 12.30 p.m. on Wednesday February 23.

2. The programme of which you had been informed was carried out in full. Their Imperial Majesties arrived at Southampton on board the R.M.S. *Queen Mary* at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, February 16. The late hour precluded the mounting of a Guard of Honour, but the *Queen Mary* was met and escorted in the Channel by four Shackleton aircraft of R.A.F. Coastal Command (an attention which was apparently much appreciated) and a 21-gun salute was fired off The Nab by H.M.S. *Sheffield*. The Shah and Queen Soraya were met at Southampton by the Duke of Wellington representing Her Majesty The Queen, Admiral Sir George Creasy (the Commander-in-chief Portsmouth) and members of this department in addition to the Persian Ambassador and members of his staff. On coming ashore, the Shah broadcast an address of which a copy is enclosed; and the party was conveyed by special train to Waterloo where the Shah was welcomed by H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester on behalf of Her Majesty The Queen, Mr. Nutting and other members of this department. Mr. Nutting and members of this department then accompanied the Shah to the Persian Embassy and took leave of him there.

3. On the morning of Thursday, February 17, I paid a call on His Imperial Majesty at the Persian Embassy and held the conversation recorded in my despatch No. 31 of that date. Their Majesties lunched privately at a restaurant, took tea with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother and in the evening attended a dinner which I gave in their honour and at which members of Her Majesty's Government, the Chiefs of Staff and senior officials were present. On Friday, February 18, Their Majesties were entertained to luncheon at Buckingham Palace by Her Majesty

The Queen and H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh. The Prime Minister was a guest. In the afternoon the Shah visited a bloodstock farm in Bedfordshire under arrangements made by the Board of Trade. In the evening he and Queen Soraya attended a performance of "Cinderella on Ice." On Saturday, February 19, the Shah played lawn tennis at the Queen's Club in the morning and Their Majesties later attended a First Division football match.

4. His visit to Bedfordshire on Friday the 18th so impressed the Shah with the quality of British bloodstock that he altered his arrangements in order to devote the morning and early afternoon of Sunday, February 20, to visits to two other farms in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. He was very satisfied with the results of these visits, again organised by the Board of Trade, and bought two stallions. Later in the afternoon of Sunday the 20th Their Majesties received at the Embassy members of the Persian community in London.

5. On Monday, February 21, the Shah and Queen Soraya lunched with the Prime Minister at No. 10 Downing Street. They visited the London Zoo and in the evening the Persian Ambassador gave a dinner party at the Savoy for some fifty guests, including Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, followed by a reception for several hundred guests including members of Her Majesty's Government, of both Houses of Parliament, officials of this and other departments and the heads of Diplomatic Missions. The major oil companies and British business interests were represented in force.

6. On Tuesday, February 22, the Shah visited Biggin Hill R.A.F. aerodrome, where he was received by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Air, the Chief of Air Staff and other senior officers of the R.A.F. He was accompanied by a member of this department. Bad weather unfortunately curtailed the flying programme which had been arranged, but the Shah was able to inspect all aspects of the work of a fighter station. He showed the greatest interest in

all that he saw and the visit, admirably arranged throughout, was an outstanding success. Queen Soraya meanwhile attended a fashion display specially arranged by the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers.

7. H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Reading and members of this department were present at London Airport on Wednesday, February 23, on Their Majesties' departure for Germany. The Shah broadcast a short valedictory message, of which a copy is enclosed. He later addressed to Her Majesty The Queen a telegram of which I also enclose the text, together with that of Her Majesty's reply.

8. The Shah showed little disposition to discuss, at least in any detail, major issues of policy with Her Majesty's Ministers. He seems to have been satisfied with the single conversation recorded in my despatch No. 31. He raised briefly with Lord Reading the question of further financial assistance to his country, giving the impression that he regarded as insufficient the credits which Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government have offered. He did not, however, make any attempt to follow this up. His conversation with the Prime Minister at luncheon on February 21 was devoted mainly to the problems of nuclear energy; and the Prime Minister made over to the Shah some diagrams showing world production of important minerals, for which the Shah appeared very grateful.

9. During our conversation on the morning of Thursday, February 17, the Shah expressed particular concern with the problems of forestry in Persia and I undertook to see what we could do to help. The Shah was subsequently informed that Her Majesty's Government would be very pleased if he would accept free scholarships at the Cyprus Forestry School for two members of the staff of his estates. The Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries called on the Shah at the Persian Embassy on Tuesday, February 22. The Shah spoke first of agriculture, and the Minister described recent advances in Great Britain. He said that he hoped the Shah would let him know if he felt that at any time we could be of help. The Shah replied that he was certain that we could. The Shah then reiterated his interest in the improvement of Persian forests. The Minister said that he thought we should be able to find persons to help if this were the Shah's wish. The best approach might be for a forestry expert to

visit Persia to help to draw up a plan. He mentioned Mr. A. P. K. Hamilton, at present a Forestry Commissioner, who in 1949 was employed as Forestry Adviser to the Persian Government. The Shah said that he did not personally remember Mr. Hamilton, but the fact that his contract had been terminated by a previous Government was no obstacle to his further employment. He would be glad if the Minister would find out whether Mr. Hamilton was available. The Minister promised to do this and to report to the Shah through the Persian Embassy.

10. The Shah made no reference in any of his conversations to Persian internal politics, and gave no hint of any intention to dismiss his present Government. He attributed the recent suppression of the Tudeh to his military leaders rather than to his Prime Minister and Government.

11. The Shah appeared in fact to regard the visit as at least as much a social as a political occasion. He gave every appearance of being pleased with the arrangements that had been made for his entertainment (which members of his staff described as greatly superior to those made in the United States) and the visit as a whole can, I think, be considered a success. It received considerable attention from the British press and was reported, in general, in good taste, although with a noticeable tendency to give more prominence to the movements of Queen Soraya than to those of the Shah himself.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Bagdad and Ankara and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

Enclosure 1

Message from H.I.M. The Shah of Iran to the British Nation

Southampton,
16th February, 1955.

The Empress and I are happy to be in England. We are particularly happy to be here now that the wise deliberations of our nations, and the fulfilment of Iran's national aspirations, have driven away the crisis in Anglo-Iranian affairs, and the relations between Iran and Britain have, to our mutual advantage, reached calm and clear waters.

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The association of the Persian and the British Peoples is an historic one. Britain's identity with Iran's national aspirations, her enhanced aid, and her ever-increasing sympathy for the political and economic stability of Iran, would not only consolidate the friendship that has existed between our two countries for four centuries, but would contribute effectively to the peace and security of the world.

Iran's cause is, first and foremost, the cause of freedom and peace. Britain, that bastion of democracy, of individual liberty and human freedom, has always stood and striven for Peace. A strong Iran, capable of dealing effectively and expeditiously with subversion from within and without, would undoubtedly be a major asset in the ranks of freedom and peace-loving nations.

With the wisdom and goodwill manifested by both Iran and Britain, I feel confident that the new chapter of relations between our two countries will gather momentum and will, as it has already, produce a new basis of mutual comprehension and firm friendship and a deeper consciousness between our two peoples.

Enclosure 2

Farewell Message from His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah

Our stay in England though brief has been most enjoyable. The Empress and I much appreciate the many expressions of cordiality and gracious hospitality which have been showered on us by the British Government and people.

The new chapter in Anglo-Iranian relations based on reciprocal respect and consideration and on mutual trust and confidence, has already provided a healthy climate for that firm friendship and close association which is not only vital to

Anglo-Iranian interests, but is highly conducive to the strengthening of the sinews of the freedom-loving nations and the peace and security of the world. We are confident that the identity of views and the spirit of true amity between our two nations will be enhanced in the future.

The Empress and I take this opportunity of sending to the British People our heartfelt greetings and salutations.

23rd February, 1955.

Enclosure 3

The Shah's Message

On leaving the shores of your renowned country the Empress and I hasten to express our deep gratitude and sincere appreciation to Your Majesty for the great kindness and generous hospitality which we have received from you and from the British people, and we are deeply touched by the thoughtful arrangements that made our short stay in England so pleasant. The Empress and I avail ourselves by sending Your Majesty and the Duke of Edinburgh our heartfelt [sic] thanks and good wishes.

Enclosure 4

Reply to His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah of Iran

I sincerely thank you for the kind message which you have sent me on your departure to-day. Both my husband and I are delighted to have had this opportunity of welcoming Your Imperial Majesty and the Empress and are so glad to know that you enjoyed your stay in London.

Elizabeth R.

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No. 6

IRANIAN PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 11)

(No. 25. Confidential)
Sir,

Tehran,
March 7, 1955.

I have the honour to report on the Iranian parliamentary situation, generally, and as it affects the Zahedi Government, on the eve of the Shah's return from his three months' tour abroad.

2. Since I wrote my despatch No. 59 of the 22nd July, 1954, more Majles "fractions" have been established. There are now six, the largest containing 17 members. The total number of Deputies participating in the fractions is 79, i.e., about two-thirds of the total membership of the Majles. The *Raushanfekran* fraction, which was originally inspired by the Shah as a pressure-group more or less in opposition to the Government, has disintegrated. Some members of it, however, still form part of the present Opposition group, if that term can be applied to what is nothing more than a number of not very impressive individuals, who are not organised in any coherent fashion. They consist of about 12 persons who between them make a point of attacking one aspect or another of most of the proposals the Government lay before the Parliament. There are about 20 other Deputies, some belonging to fractions and others not, who represent a potential opposition and some of whom have voted more than once against the Government on particular issues. These include one or two of the better type of Deputy, but the motives of most of them are extremely varied and often far from respectable. The strong supporters of the Government, who have been mobilised from time to time to give the Opposition a taste of their own medicine, number about 20. The remainder of the Deputies, i.e., about three-fifths of the total Majles membership, are broadly in favour of the Government, but many of them could fairly easily be persuaded to change allegiance if the Shah so wished.

3. For some time the Opposition was having too much of its own way, but a few weeks ago General Zahedi encouraged his supporters to take a stronger line. This led to one or two incidents including, two weeks ago, a loss of quorum following a "walk-out" by the minority and, a week ago, a "walk-out" by the majority which interrupted an Opposition Deputy's speech at which they took umbrage. The Prime Minister's own estimate, if there were a vote of confidence at the moment, is that he would have an overwhelming majority. This seems to be borne out by the votes on the 24th of February on the Bill covering the United States and United Kingdom loans and on the Soviet-Iranian frontier and financial agreement. In the first case, out of a total of 101 Deputies present, 87 Deputies voted for, 7 against and 7 abstained. In the second case, 88 voted for, 4 against, and there was 1 abstention.

4. In the Senate there is one so-called fraction which contains almost half the members of the House. It is even more heterogeneous than any Majles fraction, containing supporters of the Government as well as a number of the rival candidates for the premiership, but this in itself is indicative of the less partisan atmosphere in the Upper House. The Opposition elements in the Senate are still small (see paragraph 6 of my despatch under reference) but again a large proportion of the Senate could be expected to follow, within reason, the Shah's wishes. On the whole, the Senate has behaved sensibly and responsibly, but the Majles, jealous of its seniority and privileges, has not always been willing to recognise this.

5. There are very few personalities in either House. In the Majles the most outstanding so far has been its president, Sardar Fakher, who has some consciousness of the dignity of his office and effectively combines firmness with reasonableness. He is well respected by his colleagues and wields considerable influence. It was he who was behind the recent rejection of the credentials of Mr. Irani, the non-Farsi elected for the constituency of Lar (paragraph 2 of my telegram No. 6, Saving, of the 23rd of February). Our relations with him are friendly and reasonably frank, and his assessments of Majles behaviour, not an

easy thing to judge, are fairly accurate. One reason why the Opposition is not very effective is its lack of any real leadership. Ha'erizadeh has made himself heard rather more in the last six months or so, particularly in vituperations against the British, but he is rather a lone wolf. Qanatabadi, who has a quick and effective tongue, has deserted his former colleagues and is now supporting the Government from motives of personal advantage. Two sons of well-known mullas, the young Kashani and Behbahani, have recently been making a lot of noise but they do not carry much weight. There is a natural tendency amongst Iranians to regard each new Majles as worse than its predecessor. The present Majles from the point of view of quality of membership certainly seems to be a strong contender for this position.

6. The Senate has rather more better known personalities, a few of whom are quite respectable, but there is no outstanding figure. Generally speaking the Senators are much more balanced and responsible than the Deputies.

7. It will be seen that there are no real signs at present of a serious threat to the Government from the Parliament itself, but Members of Parliament, like many other people in Tehran, have been waiting for the Shah's return before declaring themselves too openly. Probably a majority of parliamentarians, if pressed, would say that General Zahedi, with all his faults, is better than the candidates who have shown themselves so far or whom the Shah might be expected to have up his sleeve. At the same time there is a widely held opinion that General Zahedi must change some of his Ministers and improve the quality of personnel in the administration generally, including the removal of those of his friends in various jobs and in his entourage whose reputations are bad, if he wants to last. However, if the Shah has made up his mind that General Zahedi is no longer suitable, he would be able to carry a sufficient number of parliamentarians with him, although a good deal would depend on the question of whom he proposed to select to be the next Prime Minister. For example, two large fractions with which Sardar Fakher is closely associated seem to have set their face against Mr. Hussin Ala as Prime Minister. Although their opposition would almost certainly not be carried through to the bitter end, Sardar Fakher hinted broadly to a member of my staff recently that they would make Mr. Ala's life difficult if he were appointed.

8. At the moment the most important single factor affecting the future of the Government is the serious conflict between General Zahedi and Mr. Ebtehaj, the Director of the Seven-year Plan Organisation. The Shah could do much to make these two stubborn characters collaborate, but it might suit his book better not to act too much as a peace-maker but to have Mr. Ebtehaj as a counter-weight to the Prime Minister, of whom the Shah is probably still at heart suspicious, if not jealous. It would be a pity if the Government's future were to be decided solely or largely on the basis of this clash of personalities, if only because, in what seems to be the more likely eventuality of General Zahedi's going and Mr. Ebtehaj's remaining, it is far from certain that the latter would himself last for many months. Mr. Ebtehaj is naturally disliked by the corrupt elements inside Parliament, probably a clear majority, and unfortunately he seems to have a genius for annoying many others, including some of the better elements in the country, who otherwise could and would be his best allies. Moreover, he appears to be temperamentally incapable of working with other people as a team, a quality which his job essentially requires. If the Shah's support of Mr. Ebtehaj were for any reason withdrawn he would probably last only a very short time, and if Mr. Ebtehaj were to be seriously attacked inside or outside the Parliament, the Shah could soon begin to waver.

9. In the last few weeks rumours of various kinds have been growing in Tehran. A recent one, which has, I suspect, been deliberately fabricated by certain of Mr. Suhaili's friends, is that Mr. Suhaili is to leave the Iranian Embassy in London and replace Mr. Abdullah Entezam as Foreign Minister, and that Mr. Nasrullah Entezam will leave Washington to replace Mr. Ala as Minister of Court. I have not so far been able to obtain any definite confirmation as to the truth or otherwise of these reports, but for a number of reasons I am inclined to discount the first of them at least.

10. More important than the rumours themselves is the state of mind which they reflect and induce. The deliberate creation, by self-interested persons, of

confusion by rumour is a recurring feature of Persian politics. There have been one or two indications recently that there are at least some parliamentarians who would like to prevent such a development now. If they, and like-minded persons outside the Parliament, are not successful there is a definite danger of ill-considered decisions being taken which could lead to a reversion to the post-war pattern of Governmental instability. There are quite a number of influential persons not particularly well-disposed towards General Zahedi, and some even very critical of him, who seem to appreciate the importance of stability and continuity, and the need for careful consideration before making any change of Government, but these are unfortunately a minority of the governing class, and the majority, whether self-seeking or merely irresponsible, are attracted by the thought of change however ill-considered it might be.

11. I am copying this despatch to Washington, B.M.E.O. (Nicosia) and Baghdad.

I have, &c.,

R. B. STEVENS.

EP 1103/7/55

No. 7

PROGRESS OF THE IRANIAN SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 11)(No. 27. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
March 8, 1955.*

With reference to my despatch No. 23 of February 23. I have the honour to report that M. Abul Hasan Ebtehaj, Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation, gave a Press conference on March 3 at which he set out with characteristic clarity the present status of the Seven-Year Plan.

2. He said that the entire cost of the rehabilitation programme had been estimated at 64,000 million rials, or 800 million dollars at the present rate of exchange. Of this sum, over 800 million rials had been set aside to meet past commitments, while another 8 million was to finance the short-term projects approved by a Parliamentary Commission on February 12, 1955. The remaining sum of 48,000 million rials would be devoted to the longer-term projects set out in the Bill which would shortly be presented to Parliament. Of the total of 64,000 million rials to be expended over a seven-year period, 17,300 million rials would be devoted to communications; 16,800 million rials to agriculture and irrigation; 11,200 million rials to industry and mines and 18,700 million rials to health, education and social projects, including water supplies and electricity.

3. M. Ebtehaj then went on to give particulars of the short-term projects to which he had referred. He described, in some detail, the agreement with Henry Pooley for the construction of two cement factories; this was the only firm he mentioned by name. He emphasised that these plans involved the training of Iranian technical experts in the cement industry, adding that he hoped that in this way Iranians would be able to participate actively in the exploitation of the cement industry in Iran. He said that a similar procedure would be followed in the remainder of the industrialisation programme. He described the importance of the road and port programmes to the general economy of the country. Contracts for road and port buildings had, he said, been concluded and he hoped they would be signed after the return of the Shah. He said that a scheme for giving the provinces a modern water system, electricity, streets, dispensaries and clean slaughter houses had been drawn up and the Plan Organisation would meet half the cost if the other half was met by the provinces concerned. He said that the German firm of Demag-Krupp had made a proposal regarding the construction of an iron foundry at Shams Abad which would ultimately produce 120,000 tons of pig iron and similar products per annum, and he mentioned that discussions had taken place with French and American firms to provide the provinces with modern water supply systems. He stressed that the World Bank had not been approached for a loan and he hoped it would be possible to carry on without such loans.

4. There is, I think, little doubt that M. Ebtehaj timed his Press conference in order to show publicly, in advance of the Shah's return, that the Plan Organisation had definite achievements to its credit. His reference to the conclusion of the road contract after the Shah's return is significant. He seems now to have developed a proprietary interest in the contract and appears to be determined to take responsibility for its execution; and if there are any further delays they are likely to come from his opponents. That M. Ebtehaj emphasised that the one contract which had been signed, that for the cement works, was with a British firm is perhaps an indication of his anxiety to have ammunition with which to counter the accusation that he is too pro-American. While he has great respect for American technical efficiency, I consider that he makes a real and continuous effort to be open minded and that there is no real basis for believing that he is prejudiced against British firms as such.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to the British Middle East Office (Development Division) to the Commercial Relations and Export Department of the Board of Trade, to Her Majesty's Treasury and to Her Majesty's Treasury's Middle East Representative in Cairo.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

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EP 1153/14

No. 8

ANGLO-IRANIAN GUARANTEE AGREEMENT

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 8)(No. 41 E. Restricted)
Sir,*Tehran,
April 5, 1955.*

With reference to my telegram No. 253 reporting the signature of the Anglo-Iranian Guarantee Agreement, 1955, I have the honour to enclose a certified copy of the letter setting out the terms of the Agreement which I handed to Dr. Amini on the 31st of March, together with the original of Dr. Amini's reply.

2. It may be useful if I recapitulate briefly the history of this Agreement. Soon after we made our offer of a £10 million credit, the Iranian authorities decided to accept it in principle, and agreement was reached rapidly on the details of the arrangements. Early in December the Iranian Government placed before the Majles a Bill authorising them to accept this credit, together with the loans and credits offered to them by the United States Government. It was perhaps unfortunate that the two offers were linked together, for part of the United States credits was intended to help the Iranians with their budgetary problem, and the widespread fear among Deputies and Senators that foreign aid might be frittered away in meeting avoidable deficits in the ordinary budget was largely responsible for the long delay in approving the Bill. There was also a certain amount of criticism of the principle of accepting foreign loans of any kind, but this view was not widespread and by and large our offer of a £10 million credit has been appreciated by the Iranians.

3. The next step will be for the Iranian authorities to set up the machinery to administer the Agreement in conjunction with the Export Credits Guarantee Department, and to decide on the projects which are to benefit from this credit. There are indications that the Iranians are anxious to set up this machinery as rapidly as possible, but on the broader issue it may be some time before they decide on the policy they intend to follow.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Board of Trade, Her Majesty's Treasury, the Export Credits Guarantee Department and the British Middle East Office (Development Division).

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

Enclosure No. 1

*British Embassy, Tehran.
March 31, 1955.*

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that the Export Credits Guarantee Department are prepared, subject to the conditions hereinafter set out, to guarantee and purchase at par Promissory Notes of the Imperial Iranian Government up to a total of £10 million in principal amount.

2. The conditions hereinbefore referred to are as follows:—

(a) the Promissory Notes shall be issued by the Imperial Iranian Government and shall be made payable as to principal and interest to bearer at Midland Bank, London, in the form shown in Appendix A; (1)

(b) the Promissory Notes shall be expressed in sterling in sums of £5,000 or multiples thereof and shall become payable as follows:—

£1,650,000 on September 30, 1957;
£1,650,000 on March 31, 1958;
£1,650,000 on September 30, 1958;
£1,650,000 on March 31, 1959;
£1,650,000 on September 30, 1959;
£1,750,000 on March 31, 1960;

(c) the Promissory Notes issued and outstanding shall carry interest at 4 per cent. per annum payable yearly; they shall be stamped at the expense of the Imperial Iranian Government;

(1) Not printed.

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- (d) notwithstanding anything contained in sub-paragraph (b) above of this paragraph the Imperial Iranian Government may at any time repay to the Department in pounds sterling the whole or any part of the principal amount of the Promissory Notes then outstanding together with the accrued interest thereon;
- (e) the proceeds of the sale of the Promissory Notes shall be used for the purchase of goods wholly or partly produced and manufactured in the United Kingdom and for the discharge of sterling commitments under contracts for such goods as aforesaid which provide also for the execution of works and services in Iran;
- (f) such goods and services shall be the subject of contracts made not later than March 31, 1956, with persons carrying on business in the United Kingdom;
- (g) every contract under which goods and services as aforesaid are to be purchased whether in whole or in part from the proceeds of the sale of the Promissory Notes, shall be notified as early as possible to the Department in the form shown in Appendix B.⁽¹⁾ If the particulars furnished in the form of Appendix B should not prove sufficient to satisfy the Department that the contract in question is in accordance with this Agreement, the Department shall have the right to see that contract.

3. The Imperial Iranian Government or their duly authorised agent shall deliver to the Department, under cover of a letter in the form shown in Appendix D.⁽¹⁾ from time to time for guarantee by the Department Promissory Notes to an amount sufficient to cover the total of the payments about to fall due under the contracts notified to the Department under paragraph 2 (g) hereof, and will at the time of delivery of the Promissory Notes also deliver to the Department payment orders, referred to in paragraph 5 hereof, in respect of the said payments.

4. The Department shall guarantee the Promissory Notes and shall, after guarantee, deliver them to the Imperial Iranian Government, or their duly authorised agent, who will forthwith offer the Promissory Notes to the Department for purchase by the Department at par.

5. The Department shall purchase the Notes at par and will pay the purchase money into a special account opened in favour of the Imperial Iranian Government at Midland Bank Ltd., of 122 Old Broad Street, London. The money in this special account shall be subject to withdrawal only by means of payments orders in the form shown in Appendix C.⁽¹⁾ signed by the Imperial Iranian Government and countersigned by the Department.

6. If the Imperial Iranian Government are prepared to accept the foregoing provisions I have the honour to suggest that the present letter and your reply to that effect be regarded as constituting an agreement between the Export Credits Guarantee Department and the Imperial Iranian Government to be known as the "Anglo-Iranian Guarantee Agreement, 1955."

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

Enclosure No. 2

Tehran,

March 31, 1955.

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter, with appendices, of to-day's date, setting out the conditions under which the Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are prepared to guarantee and purchase at par promissory notes of the Imperial Iranian Government up to a total of £10 million in principal amount. In reply I have the honour to inform you that the conditions contained in your letter and appendices are acceptable to the Imperial Iranian Government, and that they therefore agree that your Excellency's letter, together with its appendices and this reply, should be regarded as constituting an agreement between the Export Credits Guarantee Department and the Imperial Iranian Government in this matter.

DR. A. AMINI,
Minister of Finance.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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EP 1018/14

No. 9

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN IRAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received April 15)

(No. 43. Confidential)
Sir,

Tehran,
April 12, 1955.

On the 6th of April the Shah of Persia accepted the resignation on health grounds of General Zahedi, Prime Minister since August 1953, and appointed in his place Mr. Husain Ala, Minister of Court. On the 7th of April, General Zahedi left for Germany via Beirut and Rome. On the 8th and 9th of April, Mr. Ala selected a new cabinet, changing about half the posts. On the 10th of April these changes were submitted for approval to the Majles. Later on the same day Mr. Ala left by air for Paris for an urgent operation, having appointed Mr. Abdullah Entezam as acting Prime Minister during his absence.

2. In this despatch I shall disregard the various reports made to your predecessor on developments leading up to these events and shall instead attempt a self-contained analysis of the significance of this change of Government.

3. General Zahedi's health has been bad for some time, and in itself provides a perfectly valid reason for retirement. Even to the outside observer, however, it must be obvious that it is not the only reason, since he is being succeeded by a Prime Minister who is in even more urgent need of medical treatment, and since there are numerous ministerial changes, though not in the key posts. A list giving particulars of members of the new Government is enclosed with this despatch.

4. In fact the circumstances leading up to this change of Government are perfectly clear and relatively simple. Before the Shah went abroad in December 1954 he made it known that the Zahedi Government was on trial. They were expected to prepare and if possible to begin to implement a programme of economic development and of social financial and administrative reform; on the basis of their performance at this task during his absence, he would decide the future of the Government on his return. While the Shah was away, a number of strains and stresses arose within the Zahedi Government. They took the outward form of a sharp clash

both of temperament and policy between the Prime Minister and Mr. Abul Hasan Ebtehaj, who had been appointed by the Shah in August 1954 as Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation. Formally Mr. Ebtehaj was not a Minister or a member of General Zahedi's Cabinet at all, but by virtue of his key position in relation to development, his vigorous personality, and his good standing with the Shah, he was an essential figure in the programme set for the Government. When the Shah returned, he found that the programme had been held up, and much of the business of Government brought to a standstill by bad relations between General Zahedi and Mr. Ebtehaj. The Cabinet was divided between those who sided or sympathised with General Zahedi, and those who were trying to effect a reconciliation between him and Mr. Ebtehaj. Shortly after the Shah's return, he received a letter from the Prime Minister indicating that he must choose between Mr. Ebtehaj and himself. The Shah replied that he had already decided that Mr. Ebtehaj's talents must be employed in the reconstruction programme; he hoped that General Zahedi would reconsider his decision and agree to collaborate with Mr. Ebtehaj. But the Shah must have known that this was an idle hope. For a time it looked as though General Zahedi might make a fight of it—refuse to retire on health grounds or accept an honourable discharge. In the end, however, he was persuaded to go quietly and to outward appearance the change of Government has been harmonious. I enclose a translation of the exchange of letters between the Shah and General Zahedi in which it will be noted that the General did not tender his resignation.

5. To imagine, however, that General Zahedi has been forced to resign as a result of a purely personal quarrel with Mr. Ebtehaj or through him with the Shah would be to misread these events. The causes of difference lie deeper, and relate to basically opposing ideas on how the business of government should be conducted. It is true that the Shah and

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General Zahedi have never really been on easy terms, and that jealousy of a soldier-Prime Minister who might become too powerful has played some part in the Shah's attitude. But it is only fair to say that the Shah has given General Zahedi the opportunity to make good, and he has failed to take it. Indeed, he has been steadily losing support, among the most influential of his Ministerial colleagues and in Parliament, in recent months, and the Shah has latterly had the less reason to fear a rival influence.

6. The basic issue has been whether Persia should be governed on oriental or Western lines. General Zahedi, for all his past achievements, patriotism, courage and military bearing has proved the old type of oriental politician who interprets power as an opportunity for advancing his own personal ends. He surrounded himself with a crowd of disreputable hangers on, used them to help him line his pocket, and his position to help them line theirs, and latterly listened to their advice rather than those of his responsible and properly constituted advisers. His aversion to Mr. Ebtehaj derived from the realisation that the Director of the Plan was determined to finish with graft in development contracts, thereby depriving the Prime Minister and his cronies of a fruitful source of revenue. Mr. Ebtehaj bitterly resented the Prime Minister's habit of granting interviews to all sorts of business seekers including foreigners. The Shah for his part, noting *inter alia* that Dr. Musaddeq's popularity was partly founded on his reputation for honesty, had been rapidly coming to the conclusion that if the Government is to inspire confidence in the people at large, it must be clear of corruption. This, in my judgment, is not mere idle talk but a perfectly intelligible and manageable concept. No one supposes (though they may sometimes talk as though they did) that ingrained habits of corruption can be brought under control overnight. It occurs at all levels and in all parts of the country and one of its principal causes is an inflated but underpaid civil service. This and similar underlying causes can only be dealt with by degrees. But nothing can be attempted at lower levels if there is rotteness at the top. The first step therefore is to remove Ministers and senior office holders who use their office for private gain, and—even more important—allow mercenary considerations to warp their judgment in matters of policy. The Cabinet changes have been effected largely

(thought not entirely) with this object in view. What the Shah wants, and what he stands a fair chance of getting, is a Ministry dedicated to putting policy above profit, and country before self. Provincial and municipal office holders will be selected with the same criterion in mind. I only hope that there will be enough of *them* to go round. At any rate there is to be a clean sweep of the Tehran Municipality which according to Mr. Ala will be put into virtual liquidation for some weeks.

7. The other lesson derived from experience under Zahedi is that there must be if possible an harmonious working relationship between various individual members of the Government. The new Prime Minister is placing great emphasis on the importance of team work—particularly necessary in a nation of individualists. The Foreign Minister anticipates that in the new Government he will have additional responsibilities viz., he will play a larger part in the formulation of general policy and in the work of interdepartmental co-operation. I am convinced that this represents a real determination on the part of the principal members of the new Government. How far it can be effected in practice remains to be seen, but the choice of personalities gives some ground for hope. Certainly Mr. Ebtehaj has every reason for optimism, since his most bitter opponents in the Zahedi Cabinet—Dr. Adl, Agriculture, Dr. Maleki, Labour, General Garzan, Roads, General Farzanegan, Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Jafari, Education—have been removed.

8. The new Government then, if given a strong lead by the Shah, holds promise of a new deal in methods and a more rapid pace in development and domestic reforms. It does not however imply any change in the general direction of policy, certainly not as regards foreign affairs or defence. Given the temperament of Mr. Ala and the increased influence of Mr. Entezam it will probably take, if anything, a more cautious attitude towards the association of Persia with Middle Eastern Defence Pacts. But a continued policy of whole hearted co-operation with the Western Powers is not in doubt, and there is good reason to hope that vigorous action against Communists and the Tudeh party will be maintained. Mr. Ala himself, though weak and inclined to want to please everyone, is Western-minded, more of an old fashioned diplomatist than a politician, a conciliator rather than an innovator, a

staunch patriot tinged with nationalism which might ill equip him to stand up to nationalist pressure (e.g., on Bahrain) but otherwise a convinced believer in the maintenance of good relations with both the United Kingdom and the United States.

9. Public reaction to the changes has so far been one of indifference. General Zahedi's passing is not viewed with much regret by the people at large, though the Shah's action in removing General Zahedi during the Parliamentary recess has evoked some feeling in Parliament. Personally, he had little popular support, and took little trouble to seek it. He had no substantial following in the Army, which owes its allegiance and looks for its future, first and foremost to the Shah. Though little may have been known hitherto of the extent of the corruption practised by General Zahedi and his cronies, he remained an aloof and remote figure largely isolated from the people and even from the Parliamentary rank and file. On the other hand, the appointment of Mr. Ala is not calculated to arouse any enthusiasm. It lacks any element of novelty. Mr. Ala's name is associated with short-lived caretaker Governments, and what people most want at the moment is security and stability with a promise of continuity in economic and social development. Mr. Ala is regarded as too much of the old school and as a creature of the Shah. I am told that it is being whispered "Henceforward the Shah will be his own Prime Minister; or rather he will occupy a position comparable to that of the President of the United States." There is some truth in this; and it will be no bad thing, and may be generally welcomed save by the more corrupt politicians, if he can bring it off. It is highly doubtful whether a Government which contains for example a wealthy landowner with Qajar blood as its Minister of Finance can ever be popular in any Western sense of the word or can effectively introduce much needed financial and agricultural reforms. But it is hard to imagine a popular Government which was both competent and prudent; it is a healthy sign at least that the new Government which has elements of both competence and prudence must, if it is to establish itself in the popular mind at all, act rather than talk, rely not on names but on deeds. A good deal, including the Shah's reputation and high office, is at

stake, which may be hoped to increase the, possibly slender, chances of success. To judge from the private conversation of leading members of the new Government they have little confidence in their own ability to make themselves popular, at least with Parliament, and there is even loose talk about the possibility of having eventually either to dissolve Parliament or resign.

9. The Shah himself, however, is showing refreshing signs of energy and decision. A number of well qualified observers who have seen him within the last few days have expressed astonishment at his new appearance of determination. It can be confidently expected that he will take an increasing hand in the management of affairs. He is said to have started well by telling his Cabinet that henceforth Persia must rely on her own efforts. Hitherto it had been widely believed that she could thrive by fomenting rivalry between the Western Powers. He had personally satisfied himself during his tour that such rivalry was a myth. His Ministers must discard such illusions, and develop a new self-reliance. It now remains for these admirable sentiments to be matched by appropriate action.

10. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington and the British Middle Eastern Office at Nicosia.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

Enclosure 1

NEW PERSIAN GOVERNMENT PRESENTED TO THE MAJLIS ON SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 1955

(The order of precedence of Ministers is the one followed by the Prime Minister in presenting his Cabinet.)

Mr. Husain Ala, Prime Minister. (Personalities, 1954, No. 6.)

Mr. Ali Mu'tamed, Minister without Portfolio. (Personalities, 1954, No. 111.)

Mr. Asadullah 'Alam, Minister of the Interior. (Personalities, 1954, No. 7.)

Dr. Ali Amini, Minister of Finance. (Personalities, 1954, No. 11.)

General Abdullah Hedayat, Minister of War. (Personalities, 1954, No. 75.)

Dr. Jahanshah Saleh, Minister of Health. (Personalities, 1954, No. 149.)

*Engineer Amir Qasem Eshraqi, Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.

Mr. Abdullah Entezam, Minister for Foreign Affairs. (Personalities, 1954, No. 44.)

*Engineer Khalil Taleqani, Minister of Agriculture.

*Mr. Haji Muhammad Namazi, Minister without Portfolio.

*Dr. Muhsen Nasr, Minister of Labour.

*Dr. Mahmud Mehran, Minister of Education.

*Major-General Vali Ansari, Minister of Roads and Communications.

*Mr. Ebrahim Kashani, Acting Minister of National Economy.

*Mr. Emad-ud-Din Mir Mutahhari, Deputy Minister of Justice (with rank of Under-Secretary).

*Mr. Mahmud Hedayat, Political Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Abul Hasan Eftehaj, Director-General Seven-Year Plan Organisation. (Personalities, 1954, No. 40.)

* Please see short biographies attached.

Enclosure 2

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF PERSONS NOT IN THE PERSONALITIES LIST

Engineer Amir Qasem Esrafi

Born c. 1900. Educated in France as a posts, telegraphs and telephones engineer. Member of the Ministry of P.T.T. for about twenty years until he came to prominence under Razmara (1950) as Minister of P.T.T. His next appointment was as Deputy Director-General of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation in November 1954 under Zahedi.

Good reputation for honesty, efficiency and directness. Well-liked. Close to the Shah. French wife.

Engineer Khalil Taleqani

Born c. 1910. Took civil engineering degree at Birmingham University under A.I.O.C. auspices. Worked for two years on the Waterloo Bridge. Official of the Ministry of Agriculture, later becoming head of the independent Irrigation Department. Minister of Agriculture under Musaddeq for about fourteen months, 1951-52. Made head of the Karaj Dam Authority by the Zahedi Government, 1954. Fairly close to Zahedi.

Regarded as honest, energetic and a competent engineer, but hardly had the opportunity to prove himself as a Minister under Musaddeq.

Haji Muhammad Namazi

Born c. 1890. Leading member of a rich and well-known merchant family of Shiraz. Has given large sums of money to Shiraz for municipal development. Spent much of his life abroad (China, Hong Kong, but largely the United States). Honorary commercial adviser to the Persian Embassy in Washington for a number of years, according to some people in order to avoid United States income tax payments. Minister without Portfolio under Zahedi from October 1954.

Close friend, relation by marriage and business associate of Mr. 'Ala. Has made no noticeable impression as a Minister.

Dr. Muhsen Nasr

Brother of Mr. Taqi Nasr (Personalities, 1954, No. 123). Born c. 1905. An official of the Ministry of the Interior, becoming Under-Secretary to the Ministry under Razmara (1950). Mayor of Tehran for a time under Musaddeq.

Quite a good reputation, although some say he is an opportunist. Apparently not very energetic.

Dr. Mahmud Mehran

Born c. 1908. Educated in France. Official of the Ministry of Education, becoming Under-Secretary to the Ministry under Razmara. Before and after this appointment for a number of years supervised Persian students in France. Offered the post of Minister of Education in 1953 by Zahedi but refused. 1954, head of the Social Insurance Organisation and later head of the Iran Insurance Company under the Zahedi Government. Early in 1955 appointed additionally as special adviser to Zahedi.

Honest, serious and well-regarded. A keen worker but not very experienced in politics. French wife.

Major-General Vali Ansari

Born c. 1907. An engineer. In charge of the Tehran area of the railways under Reza Shah. Then became head of the engineers' department of the army. Military *chef de cabinet* to Zahedi in the early days of the latter's Government. Returned to his army post for a short time until June 1954, when he was appointed head of the Iranian State Railways.

Good reputation for honesty and energy.

Mr. Ebrahim Kashani

Born c. 1908. An official of the National Bank, rising to the rank of Deputy-Governor in Zahedi's time.

Reputation for honesty and considered to be a competent banker with a good brain. Not a prominent personality.

He has assumed the acting rank of Minister so as not to disqualify himself from returning to the National Bank at a later date.

Mr. Emad-ud-Din Mir Mutahhari

Born c. 1895. An official of the Ministry of Justice. Not particularly prominent until he became Counsel to the Supreme Court in Musaddeq's time, and, in Zahedi's time, Under-Secretary in the Ministry which he now retains under 'Ala.

Reputation for honesty but not regarded as particularly active or outstanding.

Mr. 'Ala when presenting his Cabinet to the Majles, said that he himself would be the Minister responsible for the Justice Department for the time being.

Mr. Mahmud Hedayat

Born c. 1910. An official of the Ministry of Justice. Under-Secretary in the Prime Minister's office under Razmara.

Not an outstanding personality, but has a good reputation for honesty and fairness as a judge.

Enclosure 3

Translation of General Zahedi's letter to His Imperial Majesty The Shah

Your Imperial Majesty,

I have the honour to state that after having assumed office and the grave responsibility entailed thereby on Your Majesty's command, success was achieved, under Imperial auspices, in establishing security throughout the realm and in solving the perplexing oil problem honourably. Relations with the great countries of the world were established on the basis of mutual respect and confidence and the defunct economy of the country was gradually revived; and

a balanced budget was achieved, among other successes.

Because of sustained efforts and constant vigil over the affairs of the state, my health was impaired and I was confined to bed from time to time. I now request Your Imperial Majesty to grant me leave to go to Europe for medical treatment. Should my physicians permit me to return at an early date, I would be at Your Majesty's command to carry out Your wishes.

GENERAL ZAHEDI.

March 6 1955.

Enclosure 4

Translation of letter from His Imperial Majesty The Shah to General Zahedi

Now that you have to leave for Europe for medical treatment as a result of sustained work during a most difficult period, we relieve you of your duties and express our appreciation for the brilliant services rendered by you as Prime Minister. We hope that you will return in good health, after a short period of treatment so that your services may again be enlisted for the country.

March 7, 1955.

EP 1372/35

No. 10

ROAD RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME OF IRAN

(1)

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received May 10)(No. 344)
(Telegraphic)*Tehran,
May 10, 1955.*

My immediately preceding telegram.

An agreement has been signed between Mr. Ebtehaj, Managing Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation, and Messrs. John Mowlem, appointing the latter as managing agents for the road reconstruction programme of Iran. The programme involves the building or reconstruction of 6,000 km. of roads. No definite budget has yet been drawn up but expenditure over the next eight years is likely to be of the order of £20 or £30 million. Credit facilities have been provided for the purchase on favourable terms of British equipment up to the value of £10 million.

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(2)

(Confidential)

John Mowlem & Company signed on May 10 a contract with the Iranian Seven-Year Plan Organisation to act as Managing Agents for the whole of the Iranian road reconstruction programme. The contract is for eight years and provides for the building or almost complete reconstruction of 6,000 km. of main road. There is provision for the extension of the contract thereafter. As Managing Agents, Mowlem's are to survey and plan the roads, to provide and maintain all the necessary plant and materials, and to train, control and supervise Iranian contractors.

2. The contract was signed after 11 months of negotiation which has been unusually difficult even by Iranian standards. With the exception of course of the Oil Agreement it is both politically and financially very much the most important contract we have secured in Iran since the resumption of diplomatic relations. For years past foreign contractors have tried and failed to get it. The road programme is the biggest ever to be undertaken in the Middle East and if carried out successfully will be of the greatest benefit to the Iranian economy. It should make a rapid and considerable contribution to the chronic Iranian problem of unemployment and under-employment.

3. The gain to the United Kingdom in visible and invisible exports is very substantial. Mowlem's fee (their sole profit) will amount, over eight years, to no more than some £700,000. Their administrative costs (also an invisible export) may produce another £1,000,000; but the main value of the contract to us lies in the supply of road-making equipment and materials. Mowlem's will sell this equipment to their Iranian contractors and if the programme is carried out in full we can expect exports to the value of some £7.5 million from the United Kingdom, most of it within the next three or four years.

4. In the long term we should do even better than these figures suggest, since Mowlem's will maintain in Tehran a large stock of equipment for sale to the Iranian contractors. The Iranian authorities have already insisted that they should be allowed to buy from this stock for purposes unconnected with the road contract. Thus for the next eight years:—

(a) All Iranian contractors of any importance will be trained by British engineers in the use of British road-making equipment (which includes a multitude of items such as tractors, &c., of general use); and

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(b) all items in this range of British equipment will be on sale in Tehran for immediate delivery and, as it happens, with no agents' commission.

This should produce ideal conditions for further exports of this range of equipment and indeed should allow our manufacturers of it to corner the Persian market completely.

L. A. C. FRY.

May 11, 1955.

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EP 1781/1

No. 11

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN IRAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 16)(No. 56. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
May 12, 1955.*

1. I have the honour to report that there has been a disquieting outburst of religious intolerance in Iran during the last few days. This outburst has been directed against the Baha'i sect, a heretical movement, which originated as a breakaway from Islam in the 1840's and which was the object of widespread persecution in this country, where normally tolerance reigns, up till the early years of the present century.

2. The sequence of events, so far as it can be pieced together, seems to be somewhat as follows. Some three weeks ago a well known Moslem preacher, with the intriguing name of Falsafi, started a series of Ramazan sermons attacking both Communism and the Baha'i movement. These sermons were broadcast throughout the country. Attacks on the Baha'is became increasingly virulent in tone. It was apparently feared that as a result some violence against the Baha'is might be committed and on May 7 the Baha'i temple in Tehran was occupied by Government troops. Similar measures, ostensibly of a precautionary nature, have been or are being taken in other Iranian cities where Baha'is live in any number. Under the inspiration of Falsafi's sermons, a demand has been set in motion for the outlawing of the Baha'i sect and a proposal to this effect was made in the Majlis on May 10 at a private session. In a number of violent speeches the Baha'is were accused of engaging in murder, espionage and the creation of disorder throughout the country. The Speaker of the Majlis recommended a study of the problem and suggested that he should be authorised to obtain the Government's views. Later, M. Entezam, as Acting Prime Minister, while referring to the Baha'is as a misled group, said that the matter needed to be considered in all its aspects and asked for the Government to be left to take whatever legal measures were thought necessary.

3. I understand that feeling against the Baha'i sect has been simmering in Moslem circles for some time. Efforts were made last year to start some move against them, but the Government counselled delay while the oil negotiations were in progress. According to reliable information the present move on the part of Moslem leaders has been brought about by strained relations between the Shah and Ayatullah Burujerdi the Supreme Shia divine in Qum. The latter, whether genuinely or as a means of increasing the influence of the Mullahs, claims to be dissatisfied with the Shah's attitude towards religion and shocked by the gay social life at Court and during the Shah's visit abroad. It is believed that he may have prompted Falsafi to suggest when he saw the Shah on April 22 (two days before Ramazan) that he should preach a series of sermons against Communism and also attack the Baha'is. According to the Minister of the Interior, who has sent various messages to me on the subject, the Shah did not anticipate that Falsafi would make more than a passing reference to the Baha'i movement. Another and more convincing explanation is that the Shah thought it inadvisable to resist the proposal for attacks on the Baha'is in view of his general relations with Ayatullah Burujerdi. In any event there seems to have been a bad miscalculation; Falsafi was given free rein for three weeks and a wave of religious fanaticism has been evoked which the Government are now finding hard to stem. There is no doubt that both the Shah and leading members of the Government are seriously perturbed about the turn events have taken, but have difficulty in controlling them without provoking the pious and providing nominal Moslems who are critical of the Government with ammunition.

4. The Acting Prime Minister expressed his concern to me on May 11 about the whole question. He emphasised that the Government was in a cleft stick. They could not afford to have an outbreak of disorder which would be used by their enemies as a basis for attacking them and comparing their record unfavourably with that of the Zahedi Administration. A number of General Zahedi's supporters were already coming out actively against the Baha'is with the object of embarrassing

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the Government. On the other hand, they would have to proceed very circumspectly in curbing Moslem enthusiasm lest they should set the bulk of the country against them. They could not respond to the demand for outlawing the Baha'is by legislation because on legal grounds there was no case for it. The Baha'is, unlike the Christians, Jews or Zoroastrians, were not an officially protected minority and had no legal status as it was. It was being suggested that punitive legislation should take the form of removing the Baha'is from all Government posts. (There are a considerable number and able Baha'is in the Army and the National Bank, as well as in Government Departments.) Any move to expel them would therefore have serious administrative consequences. At the same time M. Entezam said, I think mainly for the record, that the Baha'is themselves had behaved rather foolishly in recent years; they had increased their propaganda and come more out into the open; while many of the accusations that they were plotting against the régime, &c., were undoubtedly exaggerated they had the reputation of being international and of owing allegiance to humanity first and Iran second. This meant that they were an easy target for nationalist sentiment. M. Entezam also told me that there had been signs during the previous day's debate that Moslem Parliamentary leaders might also be planning a simultaneous attack on Freemasonry and he clearly fears that a demon of intolerance has been unleashed which may devour more than its original prey.

5. According to M. Entezam the Government is hoping that by using soft words all round they can calm excited spirits, and that the storm will blow over. They are certainly trying to face both ways, e.g. M. Entezam admitted that the occupation of the Baha'i temples—in some of which Islamic rites have been ostentatiously performed—was intended to be regarded by the Baha'is as a protective measure and by the Moslems as a move against the Baha'is. But they hope, by offering to study the subject, to avoid being pushed into more extreme measures. There are signs that Falsafi has somewhat moderated his attacks in the last two days. Whatever happens, there is a danger that the position and influence of the Mullahs will be strengthened at the expense of the Government.

6. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington.

I have, &c.

ROGER STEVENS.

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EP 1019/1

No. 12

CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN AND EASTERN IRAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received June 4)(No. 63. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
June 1, 1955.*

I have the honour to enclose an interesting report prepared by my Counsellor, Denis Wright, on a recent tour through southern and eastern Iran on which he was accompanied by my Press Officer, R. A. Burrows. It is a long time since a journey has been undertaken by any British official in this area and I think that a first hand account of life in these remote and neglected provinces is of considerable value. I fully agree with Mr. Wright's recommendations about the reopening of Consulates in these areas. There is no practical justification and substantial political objection. I hope that from time to time similar if shorter tours can be made by other members of this Embassy but I think that we shall have to be careful not to give the impression that we are poking our noses too deep or too often into the seamier stretches of this decayed Empire.

2. I do not disagree with the two concluding sentences of Mr. Wright's report but would note that they have been written under the influence of the most convincing evidence of the Shah's weakness in the face of organised pressure which has occurred since he returned to Persia in the summer of 1953. If the influence of the Mullahs does increase, there is no doubt as to the truth of Mr. Wright's thesis; but it is too early to say definitely that this increase will inevitably occur.

3. I am copying this despatch to British Middle East Office at Nicosia and Beirut, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and Her Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

Enclosure

A MOTOR TOUR THROUGH THE PERSIAN PROVINCES OF FARS, SEISTAN, KHORRASSAN AND GORGAN, MAY 1 TO MAY 25, 1955

*Tehran,
May 31, 1955.*

Mr. R. A. Burrows, Press Officer of this Embassy, and I set out from Tehran in his Vauxhall Velox on Sunday, May 1, and returned on May 25 after covering all but 3,500 miles. We had an Iranian chauffeur with us but Mr. Burrows did most of the driving; the chauffeur, however, proved invaluable in looking after the car which survived the trip fairly well, and without him we should have wasted much time. Mr. John Bennett, Her Majesty's Consul, Khorramshahr, accompanied us from Shiraz to Bushire and back.

2. We had planned the trip carefully in advance, with the result that we knew what we wanted to see and do and, in fact, accomplished all we planned, including a steep scramble to a remote cave near Shahpur off the Shiraz-Bushire road, where we saw the only extant statute of the Sassanid King Shahpur I. As preparatory reading for a tour of this sort, Lord Curzon's "Persia" is still incomparable. We told the Iranian authorities and the Press of our plans some weeks before we left, with the result that the local authorities were expecting us and prepared to be helpful rather than obstructive. We had to pay the penalty, however, and were treated as V.I.P.'s everywhere, with the resultant obligation to drink innumerable cups of tea, eat immense meals and make much exhausting conversation which taxed my limited Persian to the full. We stayed in Iranian households at Bushire, Yezd, Kerman and Birjand.

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3. From Tehran we motored south to Isfahan via the ruinous town of Kashan, then to Shiraz after spending a night among the columns of Persepolis as the guests of the Director of Archaeology there. From Shiraz we crossed the four famous passes so vividly described by Curzon by what must be one of the world's most spectacular mountain roads to reach Bushire on the Persian Gulf. We had then to retrace our steps from Bushire to Shiraz and part of the way back to Isfahan, being slowed up on this stretch by the Qashgais in full migration before being able to branch east across the desert to Yezd. At Yezd we met the leaders of the 20,000 strong Zoroastrian community and visited their Fire Temple. Unlike the 500 Baha'is there they are left in peace by the mullas and Persian authorities. From Yezd we went south-east via Kerman and Bam across the southern fringe of the Lut desert to Zahedan on the Pakistan border. From Zahedan, where we stayed with the Pakistani Consul in what was once the British Consulate, we motored north to Birjand, digressing on the way to climb the isolated holy island-mountain of Kuh-i-Khwaja (the Mount Ushida of the Avesta and legendary home of Rostam) situated near Zabol on the Afghan border. The Governor of Zabol drove us rather precariously in his jeep across some 20 miles of mud flats to the water's edge, where a guard of honour of Persian soldiers was drawn up with rifles at the present. We were then punted on reed rafts some two miles through tall reeds to the holy island. At Birjand we stayed in the family mansion of Asadullah Alam, the recently appointed Minister of the Interior, whose family, well-known to a succession of British officials in these parts, have been large landowners in Seistan since the middle of the 18th century. But we found no member of the Alam family in residence in the district; it seems that they prefer Tehran and are content to leave the management of their estates in the hands of a bailiff whom we found singularly repulsive. Our next stop was Meshed where we spent three days as the guests of the American Consul, Thomas Cassily, and where the Governor-General, Mustafa Ram, gave a large all-male dinner party in our honour and made a nice speech in praise of Anglo-Iranian friendship. From Meshed we travelled to Gumbad-i-Qabus on the Turcoman steppes, less than 50 miles from the Russian border to see the beautiful 11th century tomb-tower which inspired Robert Byron's visit to Iran. Our last step was across the steamy, wet and densely vegetated Caspian plain to Gorgan (formerly Asterabad) and Shahi before turning inland across the mountains to Firuzkuh and Tehran. This Caspian plain is separated from the central plateau of Iran by thickly-wooded mountains, and stands out in vivid contrast to the rest of the country over which we travelled, most of it arid, treeless and sun-baked. The only rain and mist that we encountered was on this stretch of the journey. In Appendix I⁽¹⁾, I give further details of our itinerary.

4. At all the main towns we visited (Isfahan, Shiraz, Bushire, Yezd, Kirman, Zahedan, Birjand, Meshed and Gorgan) we called on local officials, and at Isfahan, Shiraz, Yezd and Meshed we held Press conferences, on which Mr. Burrows has reported separately (Appendix II⁽¹⁾). We explained that we were doing this trip primarily in order to see the country for ourselves and to make direct contact with Iranians, and that we hoped thereby to cement Anglo-Iranian friendship which, in our view, had made much progress since diplomatic relations were resumed, culminating in the successful visit of the Shah and Queen Soraya to London earlier in the year. We also stressed our determination not to interfere in internal politics, did our best to puncture the claims of self-appointed Iranian spokesmen on British policy, and emphasised our desire to see a prosperous, strong and independent Iran and the unity of Anglo-American policy towards Iran. With rare exceptions we got little positive reaction to this line and were left with the impression that the enthusiasm for our friendship displayed by the Shah and his Ministers in Tehran has not been imparted to the provinces: in other words, it would be wrong to read more into the friendliness with which we were greeted everywhere than the traditional hospitality of the Persian towards the traveller, and delight that officials, albeit foreign, from Tehran should visit them. Nevertheless, the Central Office of Information poster depicting the Shah and Queen Soraya in company with Her Majesty the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, which we distributed on all possible occasions, was everywhere enthusiastically received.

5. Nowhere did we find any enthusiasm for the Ala Government or any belief in its ability or will to achieve anything. In so far as we could get any

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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reaction to our enquiries it was to the effect that Ala was old and sick and was clearly only a stopgap Prime Minister. Except in Yezd where we were told that Ala's Government was "no good," and where Sayyid Zia's name was mentioned as a successor who might achieve something, we heard no suggestions of possible alternatives to Ala. In Meshed the American Consul reported extensive support there for Dr. Mussaddeq.

6. With one or two rare exceptions, notably the Governors-General of Zahedan (Mohammed Mehran, elder brother of the present Minister of Education) and of Meshed (Ram), Governor Masoudi of Meshed and Major-General Mir-Jelali commanding the 6th Army Corps whom we met at Zahedan, we formed a poor view of the officials we met. They seemed lacking in initiative, dispirited, ignorant of their districts, anxious for transfers, and cynical about the readiness of the Central Government to do anything for them. Ministers never seem to visit the provinces, so that it is small wonder that these officials feel forgotten men; the Governors of Yezd and Kirman begged me to use my influence in Tehran to persuade the Central Government to do something for their districts.

7. On the other hand we saw no signs to suggest that internal security in these isolated areas was anything but good and our travel documents, which listed every major town on our route, served to get us quickly through the various military check posts which are usually encountered on entering towns. On entering Shiraz it was necessary to fill in a lengthy form about one's ancestry and intentions, and on the road out of Shiraz through Qashgai tribal country to Bushire we were held up for some time at check posts in the outskirts of both Shiraz and Kazerun. According to British and American residents in Shiraz there had been a recent tightening up on the movement of foreigners in the area, resulting from the recent visit there by Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Cronin. As has already been reported, the Cronins were escorted out of Firuzabad under military guard, while a few days later a British water engineer resident in Shiraz and his wife were arrested at Kazerun because their passes were not in order.

8. The most vivid impression left on us by our journey was the appalling state of Iranian roads. Appendix III⁽¹⁾ gives a more detailed account of these roads from which it will be seen that every one of them is in a deplorable state of neglect, being unsurfaced, corrugated and frequently waterswept. About 10 miles of the road from Bam to Zahedan the railhead of the Karachi-Quetta line (marked on the maps as an international highway) lies under sand drifts and requires much digging and effort for any but a car with very high clearance to get through. In view of the increasing number of British subjects now motoring home from India and beyond, the A.A. and R.A.C. should be warned of this treacherous piece of road which should be avoided by solo drivers. No repairs were going on anywhere, and such maintenance as there was took the form of ragged workmen scattering dirt over the corrugated surface.

9. Postal and telegraphic communication between the provincial towns we visited and Tehran is, at the best, uncertain, and in spite of regular air links with the major towns, letters and newspapers average at least a week to reach their destination. (Letters we posted in Birjand on May 18 reached Tehran 12 days later.) The dire need for port development on the Persian Gulf was brought home to us by our host at Kirman who told us that the Massey-Harris tractor he had ordered from the United Kingdom would be landed at Khorramshahr and then sent 1,200 miles by road via Qum to Kirman at a cost of some 5,000 toman (£250) or approximately 25 per cent. of the landed cost of the tractor. Yet the neglected port of Bandar Abbas is little over 300 miles from Kirman. At Bushire, ships have to lie out seven miles in the open roadstead and discharge into lighters with the result that the port is little used except by flat-bottomed barges which bring oil down from Khorramshahr for distribution by tanker lorries to Shiraz and south-east Iran. Chahbahar, the nearest port for Zahedan and Birjand and most accessible for India, can only be reached by jeep from Iranshahr. Work has recently begun, and is expected to take at least two years, on the completion of the railway from Shahrud to Meshed.

10. Our most surprising discovery was the extent to which opium poppies were being cultivated everywhere along our route south-east of Isfahan, except around Bushire and on the Caspian plain. We saw almost as many fields of these white poppies as we did of grain. Our host at Kirman, a former British consular

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

clerk, told us unblushingly that he found opium a highly profitable crop which he was able to sell on the "private" market at five times the official government price of 200 toman per maund (approximately £10 for 7 lb.). I should add that opium is, in theory, a government monopoly. Our host also told us that the government were not seriously interested in cutting down the cultivation of opium though they had recently paid lip service to the idea by forbidding its cultivation in three areas where it was not grown. On all sides we heard that opium smoking was widespread among all classes and included at least two of the Governors we met. Although it was only our host at Kirman (where the late Professor E. G. Browne first acquired the taste) who offered us a pipe, I doubt if there was a house in which we stayed where we could not have had one for the asking. Our blankets in the Birjand house of the Minister of the Interior reeked of opium. We were left wondering whether a nation of opium addicts can ever hope to muster the will either to put its own house in order or to act as a reliable ally in time of war.

11. Another discovery for us, confirmed by the mulla-inspired anti-Baha'i movement which was going on in Tehran while we were on tour, was the increasing and reactionary influence of the mullas. In Shiraz we were told that mullas had tried to work up public opinion against the big new Nemazi hospital there on the grounds that the toilets faced Mecca and that the fine nurses' swimming pool would breed immorality. In Meshed the influence of the mullas has so increased of recent years that it is now impossible for a foreigner to gain admittance to the Shrine; the Governor-General finds himself obliged to put his wife and daughters into chadors when they go out; and we saw, for the first time, some totally veiled women. There is no drinking at any party attended by the Governor-General (who is by no means a total abstainer when out of Meshed), no wine is sold except by Armenians, and there are no mixed gatherings—all this within 60 miles of Omar Khayyam's tomb! Various people with whom we spoke regretted the increased influence of the mullas and wished the Shah would adopt his father's tough attitude towards them. The Governor-General of Meshed rather half-heartedly excused the present licence given the mullas on the grounds that their support was necessary in the fight against Communism. Yet, in contrast, we found that though we were travelling during Ramadan very few Iranians paid any attention to the rules about daytime fasting and smoking.

12. We visited the 250-bed Nemazi hospital and adjacent waterworks at Shiraz. The hospital, which the Shah had officially opened on May 28, will, when completed, be one of the most modern and well-equipped in the world, and will be staffed largely with American doctors and nurses (three American doctors, six nurses and a dietician are already in residence). Mr. Mohammed Nemazi, a rich Shirazi merchant who made his fortune trading in the Far East and is now Minister without portfolio, hopes in part to finance the running of the hospital from the profits of his British designed and equipped waterworks which, apart from Abadan, at present provide the only piped water in the whole of Iran. These waterworks are managed by a British engineer named Owen Hawes who is not only competent but respected by the Iranians. We also visited the very modern Sarafzadeh cotton spinning factory at Yezd completed in 1950 and equipped with Platts, Armstrong-Vickers and Crossley machinery. We heard complaints from the management about the difficulty of finding a market for their goods, but the factory appeared to be running at full tilt. The young workers looked sullen and discontented, but at least they were considerably older than the pathetic children of 5 to 10 years we saw working in a so-called carpet "factory" on the Alam estate near Birjand. This factory was no more than a mud cottage fitted up with a dozen looms and badly lit by natural light coming through minute windows but typical, I believe, of the conditions under which most of the expensive Iranian carpets are made.

13. We saw a few signs of progress towards the mechanisation of agriculture. In Shiraz there was a garage full of newly arrived Massey-Harris tractors, and on the road to Kazerun we actually saw a tractor working. In Kirman and Yezd we met landowners who had tractors on order, but Mr. Asadullah Alam's manager in Birjand told us that there was no need for any tractors there since this would throw the peasants out of work, and in any case the soil was unsuitable. We were, therefore, agreeably surprised to see a number of tractors and cultivators at Gumbadi-i-Qabus and elsewhere along the Caspian coastal plain. I also saw a variety of farming machinery with which Iranian students were being familiarised at the new Point Four agricultural training school at Meshed.

14. The only British communities on our route were at Isfahan and Shiraz where there are, respectively, some 12 and 4 Church Mission Society missionaries running both church and hospital in each place, all of them with many long years of devoted residence in Iran (20 or more years on the average), but, in my opinion, out of touch with modern trends and locally suspect. Also in Shiraz there is Mr. Owen Hawes mentioned above and his wife, and a Manchester-born Jewish Doctor Tavill and his South African wife who have recently arrived to work on behalf of the American Joint Distribution Committee among the 15,000 Jews in Shiraz, most of them, apart from some 300 shopkeepers and merchants, extremely poor.

15. But though the British communities in these parts have dwindled to a shadow of their former selves, we saw much to remind us of the past. In Shiraz, Bushire and Meshed, Her Majesty's Government still own imposing properties which once housed our consuls and their staffs, including cavalry escort. In many towns the impressive buildings once owned by the British Bank of the Middle East were pointed out to us by nostalgic ex-employees of the bank. There are derelict British cemeteries and churches at Bushire and Kirman. The milestones and pointed culverts on the Zahedan-Meshed road bear the mark of the British and Indian engineers who constructed them. Although we have sold our former consular building at Zabol, which is now a hospital, I was told that a portrait of Queen Alexandria still hangs upon its walls.

16. In every town we visited we were struck by the number of British-made bicycles (B.S.A., Hercules, Philips, Raleigh) in use and on sale; also the Chalwyn oil lamp was on sale almost everywhere. British exporters might do well to learn the secret of these successes.

17. Our progress was the cause of much speculation concerning the possible reopening of our consulates. In answer to enquiries we said that, apart from Khorramshahr and Tabriz, we had no immediate intention of opening elsewhere though the development of trade and communications might, in the course of time, cause us to modify our views. From our observations and such enquiries as we could make we concluded that there are at present neither commercial nor political grounds to justify the reopening of consulates at Shiraz, Bushire or Meshed, and that because of the deeply ingrained suspicion of us that still exists throughout the country, as evidenced at the moment by the wide credence given even in apparently well-informed circles to rumours that we are behind the Baha'i troubles, we should be unwise to open any further consulates unless there are overriding commercial or political considerations for so doing. No Iranians we met, except in Bushire, showed any enthusiasm for our return, and I am convinced that our consulates will, for many years to come, continue to remain an object of deep suspicion no matter how legitimate their activities. If this view is accepted the question arises as to what should be done with our existing properties at Shiraz, Bushire and Meshed. My views, on which I have minuted in more detail separately, are as follows:—

(a) *Shiraz*

The Iranian authorities are most distrustful of the Qashgai tribes and foreign contact with them. I do not see any objection, however, to our Consul in Khorramshahr spending, say, two months each summer in Shiraz, provided he studiously avoids Qashgai contacts. I suggest, however, that the position be reviewed after two or three years to consider whether the expense of maintaining the property on this basis is justified; from a commercial point of view, Shiraz does not possess the importance of Isfahan.

(b) *Bushire*

The Seven-Year Plan Organisation are at the moment conducting a port survey with a view to deciding which ports on the Persian Gulf to develop. If a decision is made in favour of Bushire it may well be that we shall eventually need a consulate there. I accordingly recommend that we retain our consular building there (but not the so-called P.W.D. building) until we know the Iranian Government's decision in this matter.

(c) *Meshed*

Meshed has limited potentialities as a USSR-Afghan listening post and also perhaps as a commercial centre, and we may eventually find it worth while reopening there. I can, however, conceive of no circumstances in which we

should wish to reopen on the same lavish and provocative scale as before, and I strongly recommend that an immediate decision be taken to sell all but a strip of our existing very large and decaying property.

18. The Americans have consulates at Isfahan and Meshed. Both the consuls and their small staffs struck us as keen and competent. They did all they could to help us, and we stayed with Mr. Cassily, the Meshed consul. Both consuls told me that they had no commercial work to speak of and that most of their work, apart from political reporting, consisted of public relations. The previous incumbent at Meshed recommended that the post be closed, but for the time being it is to remain open. In both areas (including Shiraz and Kirman) there are sizeable American Point Four communities, and in Meshed also seven Presbyterian missionaries who run a Mission hospital. We either met or called on Point Four Representatives at Isfahan, Shiraz, Kirman and Meshed and saw something of their work in public health and rural development at Isfahan and Meshed. The men and women we met made a good impression and seemed to be quietly doing a good job.

19. The Pakistanis and Indians have consulates in Zahedan and Meshed, though the Indians are about to close down in Meshed for lack of work. The Afghans also have a consulate in Meshed. We were very warmly received by the Pakistanis and the Indians, both bearing good signs of British training, and stayed with the Pakistan Consul in Zahedan where there is a Pakistani community of about 40, some of them running the railway and some of them traders. The Indian community there is some 160 strong, of whom about half are Sikh merchants; however, with the decline of railway transit trade from India, many Sikhs have moved to Tehran and Khorramshahr. In Meshed there are about 300 permanent Pakistani residents, mostly merchants, but there is also a flow of pilgrims during the May-October season averaging about 60 a day. The permanent Afghan community is about the same as the Pakistani, and there is also pilgrim traffic from Afghanistan.

20. We heard surprisingly little about Russian activities even though we got so close to the border. The Russians still own consular buildings in Bushire (under a Russian caretaker whose family join him in the winter) and at Zabol under an Iranian caretaker, but neither building appears to have been visited recently by members of the Russian Embassy. Also, like us, the Russians own a large compound in Meshed which is now used by a member of the Russian trade delegation who appears to concern himself with the purchase of local produce such as rice, cotton and opium.

21. We were surprised to learn how many German doctors, recruited in the immediate post-war years, there are scattered around the area visited. The German Ambassador tells me that there are about 20 of them in Iran. We heard of such doctors in Yazd, Kirman (two and a nurse), Birjand and Minodasht near Gorgan. Apart from these the only other Europeans we heard of were a Dutch merchant and a Swiss doctor in Shiraz, and a Belgian doctor and Swiss nurse in Meshed.

22. To sum up. This was a most enjoyable and illuminating journey, from which we returned, however, depressed by what we saw. Above all we were struck by the vast, arid, unpopulated spaces; the poverty, primitiveness and servility of the peasantry in contrast to the wealth of their absentee landlords in Tehran, the utter neglect of the provinces by the Central Government; the appalling communications system; and the extent to which the country is opium-riddled. The increasing influence of the mullas augurs ill for the country's progress and underlines, in my opinion, the extent to which the present Shah is not half the man his father was. The conclusion to which we were reluctantly forced was that little short of a miracle or change of dynasty resulting in the advent of another Reza Shah can provide the impetus necessary to carry through the reforms needed if the country is to make the progress to which its increased oil revenues now entitle it.

D. A. H. WRIGHT.

EP 1019/2

No. 13

CONDITIONS IN SOUTH-WEST IRAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received June 4)(No. 62. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
June 2, 1955.*

I have the honour to enclose a report by Mr. J. T. Fearnley, First Secretary dealing with Iranian affairs at this Embassy, of a journey which he and Mr. Sajjadi, my local adviser on Iranian affairs made in South-West Iran from the 15th of March to the 6th of April.

2. The report is, I think, valuable and informative, and gives the first personal impressions of this area of Iran by members of the Embassy staff since this mission was reopened in December 1953.

I have, &c.,

R. B. STEVENS.

Enclosure

*Tehran,
May 5, 1955.*

TOUR OF SOUTH-WEST IRAN BY MR. J. T. FEARNLEY, FIRST SECRETARY AT THE BRITISH EMBASSY, TEHRAN, AND MR. S. M. SAJJADI, ADVISER ON IRANIAN AFFAIRS

The tour which Mr. Sajjadi and I made in South-West Iran lasted from 15th March to 6th April. The route followed was via Qazvin, Hamadan and Khorramabad to Abadan and Khorramshahr; by air to Masjed-e-Sulaiman, the administrative centre of the oil-fields; by road again to Behbahan, Nazerun, Shiraz, Isfahan and back to Tehran. The original plan to visit Kerman and Yazd had to be abandoned because of serious delays caused by poor communications and an attack of food poisoning.

Communications

The roads were generally in fair to poor condition, and in some cases could hardly be called roads at all. There were exceptions to this, but there was nothing approaching a medium British main road. An average speed, excluding stops, of 20 m.p.h. for a loaded Land Rover was considered good. Iranian drivers are more intrepid. Newly-imported American cars were seen being driven up from Khorramshahr at speeds of 50-60 m.p.h., and one of the new Mercedes Benz buses took us the 490 km. from Shiraz to Isfahan at an average running speed of 60 k.p.h. over a largely non-asphalted and corrugated road. Vehicle breakdowns were a common sight during the whole tour.

It is particularly remarkable that at present for a number of months in the year—i.e., when the rivers are fairly full from either winter rains or the spring thaw—there is no certain communication for wheeled vehicles between the two important provinces of Khuzistan and Fars. There is a choice of two routes between Behbahan and Kazerun—a round-about one by the coast and a more direct one by Fahlian. The first was reported quite impassable by the head of the Gach Saran oil-field. The latter was often little more than a farm track, in parts impassable just after heavy rain, and crossing innumerable gullies and spring flood beds but provided with a few new steel-and-concrete bridges over the rivers proper. Apparently some five years ago it had been intended to make a metalled road along this route. The budget allocation for the bridges was spent as planned but that for the road was cancelled. The biggest bridge over the River Fahlian had consisted of some fifteen arches and cost 20 million rials. The first winter flood it experienced carried away three arches within a year of construction and seems to

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have pushed the whole structure slightly out of plumb. The bridge had been built by a "mushroom" firm of contractors. An attempted crossing of the river failed and the Land Rover, damaged but still in running order, was sent back to Tehran. To reach the other side of the river by road would have meant a journey of some 1,900 km., returning half-way back to Tehran and cutting across the mountains to Isfahan, a journey of at least six days.

Our efforts to obtain transport from this isolated spot were not helped by the local telegraph clerk who swore that he had sent our telegrams but in fact held them up for some three days. We learned later that he was an opium addict anxious to get out of this backwoods job; but telegraphing from the more populated areas was not particularly efficient. Telegraph offices work very gentlemanly hours, and in some cases, e.g., Tehran-Isfahan, the authorities seem to send telegrams by aeroplane whenever they think fit. Postal communications, too, are not what they should be. In Shiraz it was accepted that an air-letter from Tehran should take up to a week, although the scheduled flying time is only three hours and there are regular aircraft four days a week.

General Impressions

We talked with a good variety of people in most of the places we visited. Although, apart from our enforced stay near the Fahlian river, we were never long in any one place, we nevertheless gained impressions of conditions and attitudes which seem to have some general validity.

Political comments we heard brought out a widespread appreciation of the values of security, stability and continuity of Government more or less regardless of who should be in power. Tehran political gossip about the Government (at that time Zahedi's) was repeated now and again in the more sophisticated circles, but generally the local effects of Government activity, e.g., the condition of communications, health facilities, &c., were the things that seemed to matter. The central Government as such is not much loved, if only because of the rapacity and intrigues of many of its provincial representatives, including Army officers, but the day-to-day security achieved by Zahedi after the turbulence of Musaddeq's time was clearly appreciated except where the security authorities were too domineering.

As regards the attitude towards the British, it was encouraging to notice that there was some understanding amongst more reasonable elements that we genuinely wished to see Iran make progress and that we were not intriguing for our own sinister purposes. But there is still a great deal of suspicion of us, which in an Iranian fashion often shows itself as respect, and Musaddeqism is far from dead. In this context it is particularly important that we should not even seem to be associating ourselves with elements who are either discredited or widely disliked. (See comments on Qashqa'is and Isfahan below.) The Americans seem to have inherited some of our reputation for "interference" but do not seem to command the same respect. Point IV, whatever its economic and social achievements, has, with what the Iranians consider to be its extravagance and naiveté, probably contributed considerably to this attitude towards the Americans.

Social conditions were talked about more than any other single subject. The over-centralisation of Government activity in all fields, and particularly in matters such as education, public health and agriculture, was often strongly criticised, largely on the grounds that the larger towns, and above all Tehran, were getting much more than their fair share of the national revenue, and that even the smallest decisions had to be referred to the capital. The lack of adequate encouragement, guidance and material help for agricultural improvement, the poor health facilities in rural areas whose inhabitants are increasingly conscious of the need for such things, the uncertainty in the minds of land-owners and peasants arising from loose talk of land distribution or reform, the drift from the land which these and other factors encourage, are not conducive to as settled and prosperous a rural society as should otherwise be possible. As some four-fifths of the Iranian population depend more or less directly on the land for their living, this state of affairs is of the first importance when judging Iran's general condition. The Iranian peasant can be very long-suffering, but he is no longer quite so cut off from the outside world and is becoming more aware of the fact that change is possible.

Radio has no doubt played a large part in arousing this awareness. Musaddeq was the first Iranian politician properly to realise the effectiveness of broadcasting, and he gained great advantage from it. One wireless set in the local coffee-house

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reaches a wide audience, and, adeptly handled, broadcasting can fit very well into the Iranian male habit of regular gatherings of neighbours to discuss political and other affairs. Newspapers in the provinces are generally few and far between and often sadly out-dated, only a minority can read, and in any case newspapers do not have the same attraction as a *conversazione*. A Government which knows how to handle radio can strengthen its position considerably by this alone, and as far as our own publicity activities are concerned the Iranian broadcasting system is of the first importance.

Notes on Areas and Towns Visited

Luristan.—I was struck by the amount of non-irrigated land in Luristan (and later in Fars) which depends entirely on snow- and rain-fall. The winter had been dry and the crops were seriously threatened, but fortunately heavy rains fell over most of south-west Iran during March and the outlook for the cereal harvest improved considerably, but there were indications that fruit might be affected by the cold spell accompanying the rain.

It was in a coffee-house in Luristan that we saw an opium-pipe warming up in a place of honour near a Government poster about the prohibition of opium-smoking.

Abadan.—The new increase in the minimum wage for refinery and oilfields labour had just been decided upon. The salary increase for clerical and other staff was to follow. There was some concern amongst experienced persons in Abadan lest the new arrangements for wages, which did away with the greater part of the subsidised food supplies, throw the workers too much on the mercy of the opportunistic bazaar merchants and lead to pressure for further increases in the autumn. (The Labour Attaché has since visited the oil area and studied the labour position in detail.)

The military in Abadan, where there is still a midnight curfew, seemed rather too big for their boots, and there was resentment amongst labour and staff at their behaviour. This had shown itself fairly clearly when local military and government officials wanted—in fact almost demanded—full use of the facilities of the various employees' clubs. It was being said that the military were not above accusing persons who would not "co-operate" with them of being Tudeh Party members. Even if there is no truth in this it is a reflection of the oil employees' uneasiness. I also heard that the military would have liked to take over plant security, normally a Company responsibility, but were being kept at arm's length.

The Consortium "expatriates" seem to be settling in quite well. They were still in the process of organising themselves and their work, and this may last for some time yet. The Americans have naturally still got a lot to learn about the Iranians but on the whole they seem to be going about things with a proper sense of caution. I felt that the main weakness so far was that they had still quite some way to go to get in close touch with the moods of their Iranian employees and see through some of the more subtle intrigues.

Masjed-e-Sulaiman.—Fields seemed to have shaken down more quickly than Abadan. The problems are fewer and simpler, but some of the difference is also, I think, due to the fact that the senior Iranian (No. 2 to the American General Fields Manager) is an old fields hand who not only knows his job but is not afraid of using his authority.

We were there for the Iranian New Year celebrations. The Iranians have inherited from the A.I.O.C. days—and appear to enjoy it—a "palais de danse" atmosphere in some of their club life. The labour and junior staff club—the most prosperous one—had arranged a cabaret show and dance in a marquee holding some 1,500 people. (The canvas of the marquee was liberally stamped "A.I.O.C.") Veiled workers' wives contrasted strangely with the electric-blonde and under-dressed crooner imported from Tehran for the occasion.

Basht-Babu'i and Mamasani Tribal Areas (Khuzistan-Fars Border).—The last thing I wanted to do was to get mixed up with the tribes, but the Fahlian River and its damaged bridge forced us to remain four days in or near the Mamasani Tribal Area as guests of the Basht Babu'i Khan who had escorted us from the Khuzistan side of the border to the river. The Mamasani Khans were absent. (The head of the tribe spends much of his time in comfort in Shiraz.) Both tribes are small (6,500 and 27,000 respectively) and their territories along the fairly fertile

valley seemed reasonably adequate. They are more or less settled, but flocks are taken into the hills in the summer. They naturally mistrust their strongest tribal neighbours, the Boir Ahmadi, who live to the north, but their bitterest comments were reserved for the Qashqa'is, particularly Khusrau Khan. Medical facilities were poor (the Mamasani had one doctor, the Basht Babu'i's none) and there are no veterinary facilities apart from the odd and apparently not very helpful flying visit from a Point IV team. There were no real schools. Life is still semi-feudal (the Khan was never without his two armed guards and the Khan's houses had a large number of hangers-on) but these smaller tribes at least seemed to consider themselves as ordinary members of the community and to look to the Government for help. Execrable roads make transport costs very high, and add considerably to the cost of the area's imports and exports.

Shiraz.—The modern part of the town, with its well-asphalted streets and its very wide main avenue and trees, is attractive. The streets have a much tidier and more finished look than the main thoroughfares of Tehran.

I made a point of calling on the civil and military authorities to make sure that they would not hear only garbled versions, through their own channels, of our stay with the tribes. The Governor-General, a soldier, referred to the disarming of the Qashqa'is, but without indicating the degree of success which this had had. I gained the impression that the operation was more for show than anything else. The Qashqa'is came in for considerable criticism from a number of people we spoke to.

Isfahan.—The situation of the larger textile mills in Isfahan is once again spoken of as critical. It might be nearer the truth to say that they are in a state of permanent crisis. The mill-owners, who personally do not seem to suffer very much from their industrial difficulties, this time are blaming Soviet and Japanese competition in cheap piece goods, but the basic cause is probably, as before, the problem of surplus labour inherited from the post-war days of Tudeh pressure. 700 of the 2,700 workers of the largest mill are redundant, but neither the owners nor the Government have the courage or the ingenuity to tackle the problem boldly. The Governor-General's idea, which he mentioned to us, of installing more machinery to occupy the surplus workers pays little heed to economics but might be the best solution in the circumstances.

J. T. FEARNLEY.

EP 1018/24

No. 14

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 16)(No. 78. Secret)
Sir,*Tehran,
July 13, 1955.*

Before going on leave I must try to set down a few reflections on the Persian scene, both internal and external. I would stress that the scene is shifting and the moment fugitive; it is therefore peculiarly difficult to take a long view.

2. The Ala Government has now been in office for three months, during two of which the Prime Minister himself was out of the country. In so far as there has been a directing force it has been provided by the Shah. It was confidently expected that the Shah would take a larger hand himself in governing the country and it was considered in certain quarters that if he did so firmly and consistently it might lead to positive results. But the outcome has been disappointing. The Shah has been active in print and speech in matters towards which he has a positive policy—e.g., corruption, tax reform, land reform—but both he and his immediate advisers seem to lack the experience, administrative ability and drive to put their ideas effectively into practice. In other matters in which the Shah has not set the pace—e.g., the religious question, Parliamentary unrest—he has been caught off guard and displayed lamentable weakness. As a result of the Baha'i troubles and the general lack of decisiveness it is being asked whether in the last resort this Government can be relied upon to maintain order. The employment of advisers of doubtful antecedents, notably in the propaganda field, has revived doubts as to whether the Shah can be trusted in his choice of counsellors. Efforts to introduce hasty legislation of an ostensibly radical nature—the new tax and Government land bills—have provoked a storm of protest in Parliament, reflecting deep-seated alarm on the part of the propertied classes. As a result of this combination of circumstances the Government—including the Shah himself: this is the novel feature—are under attack from many sides and in some instances, e.g., in connexion with the work of the Plan Organisation, are being wantonly and unjustifiably accused of crimes they have not committed.

Unfortunately, the personality and manners of M. Ebtehaj, the Director of the Plan, are an easy target and mask the solid and methodical effort which underlies them.

3. The first question is whether the crisis of confidence is real or artificial; whether it will lead to a general weakening of central, including royal, authority or whether it is only a passing phase. The handling of the religious question, the impression of hesitation and insecurity, and the employment of dubious advisers have unquestionably led to real diminution of confidence which in turn has placed the Government in a less favourable position for pursuing their avowed policy. The Shah himself affects to believe that the outcry against tax and land reform is the inevitable reaction to a genuine effort on the part of the Government to impose direct taxation and therefore secure a more equitable distribution of wealth. Among the more irresponsible members of the wealthy classes it is being freely rumoured that the Shah is the victim of a Communist-inspired (or even British-inspired) plot designed to associate him with punitive legislation not in the best interests of Persia—i.e., of the ruling classes—with the object of discrediting and eventually bringing about the fall of the monarchy. Both malicious talk and genuine and well-founded criticism will multiply unless the Shah and the Government show greater decisiveness and determination than they have done in the last three months. Moreover, the door will be opened once more to outbursts of xenophobia and demagoguery, of which there have already been signs.

4. The real fault of the Shah and his present Government is not that they do not have good intentions or that they have been inactive but that they have gone about things in the wrong way. This is largely attributable to the amateurishness of M. Alam, the young and energetic but highly inexperienced and not very intelligent Minister of the Interior, who has lately been showing an uncomfortable tendency to call on British, and to a lesser extent American, advice whenever he gets into a fix. To do

him justice, I understand that he wanted to take firmer action against the mullas than some of his senior colleagues; but, a trimmer by nature, he failed to carry his point and the result was a characteristically messy compromise. In theory, he is full of reforming zeal, but in practice is not really in touch either with the rank and file or with the political world. The Majlis was annoyed because the new tax bill was put straight into a special joint Parliamentary committee of both Houses instead of being presented direct to them. The tax bill (with all its imperfections) provided a golden opportunity to appeal to the people, e.g., by radio over the heads of Parliament. M. Alam's idea of publicity seems to have been to employ a number of dubious characters designed to attract the young intellectuals and through them to inspire (a) a campaign in a limited number of newspapers declaring how good and firm and honest the Government was, (b) a series of radio attacks on the privileged classes. This has ended in chaos and disaster. In a country where words are often substituted for deeds, the Government—which I suspect means largely the Shah under the inspiration of M. Alam—have talked too much about their sweeping intentions—to eliminate corruption, ban opium, lower the cost of living and effect financial and social reform—instead of concentrating and pursuing resolute action in any one direction. As a result they have aroused hostility in many quarters without having forged effective weapons with which to fight it. The danger is that, having made so many enemies, they will now feel forced to conciliate some—declared Baha'is may be removed from Governmental posts; M. Ebtehaj may be thrown to the wolves; some of the priority legislation which has run into such heavy weather in Parliament may be withdrawn. Any of these retreats might buy a temporary respite but in the long run would react adversely on the prestige of this Government and confirm widely-held opinion about the fundamental weakness of the Shah. It is possible that by a reshuffle in the Government the Shah might be able to mask a temporary retreat; and if he is more concerned with outwardly conserving his own position than with the early passage of measures to which he has set his seal this may well be his preferred course. But in the long run the test will

come, whether these measures are passed, substantially modified or withdrawn. If the Shah can only get his way by dissolving Parliament, the effects on confidence and security may be serious. If, on the other hand, he fails to follow through the policy for which he has assumed responsibility, his prestige will be gravely impaired. In unfavourable circumstances (e.g., coincidence with the religious question) and in an inept manner, he has thrown down a challenge and if he does not eventually win he may rock the foundation of the monarchy. He may do so even if he does win. Such is the logic of the situation, but logic has little place here and the result may well be after all a typical high-sounding weak-kneed Persian compromise. At this point it would be prudent to withdraw from further speculation.

5. The effect of all this on Persian external policy is likely to be adverse. Even the Shah must recognise that, with an unsettled nation and a weak Government, the risks of entering a Middle Eastern defence pact are greatly increased. His accurate reaction to the recent invitation to visit Moscow—that it would encourage neutralist opinion in this country and make alignment with the West more difficult—illustrates that he is under few illusions on this score. I do not believe that the domestic situation will divert him from the course which he has set himself—namely, to go through a series of preparatory motions regarding regional defence and military aid with the object of determining whether or not it will pay Persia to join the Pact. On the contrary, I think he is so wedded to this course—with all the prospects of strengthening the Army and hence his own position which it opens up—that it will in a sense provide him with an added incentive to establish control of the domestic situation; and this may be all to the good. But it will increase the nervousness of his advisers, encourage the normal Persian tendency to sit on the fence, and tend at least to delay full Persian association with the West.

6. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington and British Middle East Office, Nicosia.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

EP 1103/44

No. 15

BILL REGARDING THE NEW SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

Mr. Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 23)(No. 81 E. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
July 21, 1955.*

I have the honour to enclose the text^(*) of a Bill regarding the new Seven-Year Plan which the Government have recently submitted to the Majlis. The old Seven-Year Plan is due to come to an end this year and new legislation is necessary to prolong the existence of the Plan Organisation and to sanction the new Seven-Year Plan which the Government have prepared.

2. Under the new Bill the Plan Organisation are made responsible for the execution of projects approved by the Plan Organisation Committee of the Majlis. The Plan Organisation's chief tasks are to appoint the agents for the execution of these projects, to centralise expenditure on development, to control the execution of the Plan from the financial and technical point of view and to co-ordinate the action of departments which are responsible for individual projects.

3. The Seven-Year Plan is to be headed by an Administrator General, who is to be appointed by the Shah for a period of three years but can be dismissed for incompetence.

4. The Bill provides for an elaborate machinery of control. Once the Majlis have approved the Bill and the broad division of expenditure which it contains, individual projects have to be approved by the Plan Organisation Committee of the Majlis. In addition there is a High Council of the Plan Organisation whose seven members are appointed by the Shah for a period of seven years and whose task is to control in more detail the projects which are approved by the Plan Organisation Committee of the Majlis.

5. Finally there is the Control Council, whose six members are appointed by the Majlis for a period of two years from a list of candidates provided by the Government and whose task is to examine the annual report and accounts and investigate any matters which may be submitted to it by the Government.

6. The new Bill also authorises the engagement of foreign experts for periods of up to eight years, subject to the approval of the Council of Ministers and the Plan Organisation Committee of the Majlis.

7. Article 10 of the Bill lays down the distribution of the oil revenues. During the next three years 60 per cent. of these revenues are to go to the Plan Organisation and 10 per cent. to the Ministry of Finance to help meet the Budget deficit. The remaining 30 per cent., which are the equivalent of the National Iranian Oil Company's 12½ per cent. share of oil production if the National Iranian Oil Company elects to take this in cash, belongs to the National Iranian Oil Company, who will be allowed to retain as much of this money as they can usefully spend. Any unspent balances will be handed over to the Ministry of Finance for the Budget deficit. After three years any money which the National Iranian Oil Company cannot spend will be made over to the Plan Organisation. The Ministry of Finance will, however, be allowed to retain up to 10 per cent. of the oil revenues to meet the running costs of development projects which the Plan Organisation may hand over to the Government. Elaborate checks are provided to ensure that any money which goes to N.I.O.C. or to the Ministry of Finance is well spent.

8. The Appendix to the Bill, which is summarised in Annexure B to this despatch, gives the broad pattern of expenditure over the next seven years. Total expenditure is to amount to the equivalent of £300 million. The bulk of the Plan Organisation's money is to be spent on the improvement of communications and on the improvement of amenities in the provinces. Agricultural schemes are to be the next largest beneficiary, while the share which is to go to industry and mining is comparatively small. Given the poverty of the existing network of communications and the state of neglect in which the provinces have been left, these priorities seem, broadly speaking, the right ones.

(*) Not printed.

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9. Although the new Bill is a workmanlike document, it may have a rough passage in the Majlis. The Bill gives wide powers to the Plan Organisation and its head and perhaps not enough to other Government departments. Moreover, many Members of Parliament are looking for sticks with which to beat Mr. Ebtehaj, either because of his brusqueness with them and their interests, or because his insistence on the orderly conduct of business means that money is being spent all too slowly for Members of Parliament who have their eye on next year's election and would like not to be entirely dependent on the goodwill of the Government of the day for their election.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, to Her Majesty's Treasury, Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Baghdad and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

D. A. H. WRIGHT.

ANNEXURE B

SUMMARY OF THE SECOND SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

Expenditure is divided into three categories:—

- (a) Projects for which money has already been voted by Parliament and which are in the course of execution;
- (b) new projects which have been largely elaborated; and
- (c) projects which remain to be elaborated.

2. These projects also fall into three categories according to the way in which they will be carried out. Some will be carried out under the supervision of consulting engineers appointed by the Plan Organisation; others will be carried out under the supervision of Government departments (e.g., health and education), and others will be carried out by private firms with the help of and under the supervision of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation.

3. Total expenditure is to amount to 68 billion rials (£300 million):—

(a) Projects under way: 18 billion rials (£80 million) of which:—

	Billion Rial:	£ Million
Communications	5.6	25
Public utilities	2.6	11
Agriculture	6.5	30
Industry and mining	3	14

(b) New projects which are now ready: 44 billion rials (£200 million) of which:—

Communications	15	70
(Railways and roads account for two-thirds of this total)		
Public utilities	15	70
(This money will be spent mostly on health, education, electricity and water supplies)		
Agriculture and irrigation	8	36
(Irrigation schemes account for a large part of this expenditure)		
Industry	5	23
(Most of the money will be for the setting up of an iron foundry and for some cement works)		

(c) Projects which still remain to be elaborated: 6 billion rials (£27 million):—

These are to be mainly in the sphere of agriculture and industry.

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EP 1018/31

No. 16

IRANIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

(1)

Mr. Macmillan to Mr. Wright (Tehran)(No. 106. Secret)
Sir,*Foreign Office,
July 30, 1955.*

1. I have no hesitation in accepting the disquieting conclusions reached by Sir Roger Stevens in his despatch No. 78 of the 13th of July.

2. In recent weeks similar reports have been received in the Foreign Office from a wide variety of sources: the Iranian Embassy itself, influential Iranian visitors to this country and an experienced British student of Iran have gone out of their way to express to us their concern at the present state of affairs. Indeed, the two senior members of the Iranian Parliamentary Delegation now in England have sent us a message in forceful terms, predicting serious disorder if the Shah maintains his present ineffective Government and continues his sporadic and unsuccessful attempts at direct rule. They claim, among other things, that disaffection in the army is spreading rapidly and, all too convincingly, that the latest clique of private advisers with whom the Shah has surrounded himself has affiliations with the Tudeh Party.

3. It is clear that there has been a marked loss of confidence since the dismissal of General Zahedi and that public order, although perhaps not yet seriously threatened, has already suffered. The most disquieting factor in my opinion is that, in the two years since the fall of Dr. Musaddiq, the Iranian people have been shown no evidence to suggest that they may expect an improvement in their lot, or that the promises now made to them are better founded than those so often made and so quickly discredited in the past. If it goes on, the present state of affairs must give rise at the least to increasing discontent from which the oil consortium and other British interests must expect to suffer; and it might well provide opportunity for a rapid revival of the Tudeh Party.

4. The root of the trouble appears to be the Shah's belief that he has the abilities necessary for the direct personal government of his country. If that is so, it may be that the cure will be found only if he can be persuaded to appoint a capable Prime Minister, to encourage and to support him and to refrain from interference in the affairs of Government.

5. Her Majesty's Government have hitherto been able to avoid direct interference in Iranian internal affairs, giving their advice only when it has been sought. But their interest in Iran's stability and prosperity is so great that it is difficult for them to ignore such convincing evidence of deterioration. I must therefore consider urgently whether or not we should now offer direct and forceful advice to the Shah.

6. It would clearly be a delicate matter to advise the Shah outright to appoint a strong Prime Minister. Such advice would be altogether contrary to his known inclinations and ambitions. It is by no means certain, moreover, that it would be endorsed by the United States Government, who have as yet authorised your United States colleague to express concern only in mild terms of a particular aspect of the present situation. It might also lead to our having to express an opinion as to a suitable successor to Hussein Ala; for even if the Shah did not reject our advice out of hand he would be capable of expressing his agreement and then proceeding to appoint another weak, or even a weaker, Prime Minister. But I do not think that these difficulties must necessarily deter us.

7. I should be glad to know by telegraph whether you believe that such advice could and should be offered to the Shah, whether we should be likely to secure the tacit, if not active, support of the United States Embassy at Tehran and what tactics you would propose to adopt if instructed to offer such advice.

8. I should also welcome the comments of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington, to whom a copy of this despatch is being sent, who, if he thinks fit, should discuss the problem in general terms with the State Department.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

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(2)

Mr. Wright to Mr. Macmillan(No. 84. Secret)
Sir,*Tehran,
August 6, 1955.*

In his despatch No. 78 of the 13th of July Sir Roger Stevens commented on the situation here just before his departure on leave. In carrying speculation further I am very much aware of the risk involved, particularly in this increasingly obscure situation, but I think it should be attempted in view of the way things seem to be going and in the hope that it may be of some value in preparing ourselves for what might come. The events of the last four months do not need recapitulating. I shall concentrate on their effect and particularly on their significance for the future.

2. Since April the business of government, as regards major developments and the general trend of affairs, has in practice been carried out by the Shah with Alam, the Minister of the Interior, as his errand-boy. The Prime Minister, and earlier his deputy, have had little or no responsibility or real authority. However much he might be able to attribute recent developments to the force of circumstances rather than to lack of a planned policy, mismanagement and poor judgment, the Shah cannot disclaim responsibility for his choice of advisers and his method of work which, based on suspicion and jealousy of anyone who could become his rival in popularity or achievement, is little more than a series of largely personal and very much *ad hoc* decisions.

3. The Government have succeeded in upsetting almost all the influential elements in the country. The Parliament, the *mullas*, the landowners, persons liable to taxation, the Press, and Government officials are, to put it at its mildest, uneasy, and the morale of the army is uncertain. This would not have mattered quite so much if the mass of the people had been given some tangible satisfaction and some definite hope for the future, but all they have had is fine words and large promises, which they have learned to mistrust. We have been much impressed by the anxiety and dissatisfaction expressed by all kinds of Iranians and the openness and growing vehemence of the criticism of the Shah personally. The Shah appears to be not sufficiently aware of these feelings. At least he affects in private to be reasonably satisfied with the situation, although in a recent speech he seemed to see himself as a lonely champion of progress and virtue fighting the myriad forces of reaction and corruption. This kind of quasi-demagogic talk on his part is disturbing if only because he has shown himself incapable of taking the firm, judicious and consistent actions which are necessary to remedy the situation.

4. The large majority of the privileged class who, broadly speaking, have little or no tradition or sentiment of responsibility and public service, are either opposed to reforms affecting their prerogatives or are incapable of any real effort to improve matters. They are more or less content with *laissez-faire* methods approximating to a mild form of administrative anarchy but stopping short of a state of affairs which might endanger their personal security. These forces of reaction and inertia are strong and have been able to make much play of the way affairs have been handled in recent months, although they, too, are worried about the trend of events. It is the remainder of this class, i.e., a relatively small number of individuals with some public spirit and desire to improve the state of Iran, who, with the support of more sober elements amongst the educated but largely unprivileged (in both cases definitely minorities amongst their equals), alone might be able to rescue Iran in a way favourable to our interests and Western interests generally from further drift and eventual breakdown.

5. A firm hand on affairs is essential. I think we must acknowledge clearly to ourselves once and for all that the Shah himself cannot provide this. A "strong man" like Zahedi who would do little more than hold the situation is also not enough. Nor do I think that economic development, however well executed, will alone provide a magic solution even in the long term. Economic development must go hand in hand with social reform and sound government. What is needed is a Prime Minister and a Government who not only seriously believe in the need for reform but can handle the traditionally influential elements wisely as well as firmly and at the same time can make a more or less immediate impact on popular opinion of a kind to attract sympathy and create hope. (Musaddiq showed that popular support is a powerful force in modern Iran, if only for its negative value of frightening one's opponents into silence.) Before reviewing the candidates for this task I shall attempt to forecast, in ascending order of seriousness, the turns which events could take.

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6. Government of the present kind, allowing for possible Ministerial changes, could stagger on for some time yet. The Shah might, however, revert to past tactics and allow the present Government or some similar although possibly less respectable Government to make their own way, subject, of course, as always, to less direct interventions by him. This might hold the position for a year or even more but it seems bound to repeat the past experience of a series of short-lived and ineffective Governments and would only put off the day of reckoning and increase the dangers when that day comes.

7. The Majles, however poor its quality, is an important factor. One cannot exclude the possibility of its casting at some stage a spontaneous vote of non-confidence in the present or a similar Government followed by a "vote of inclination" for another Prime Minister. The Majles is in an anxious and unpredictable mood and could take such a course, but I find it difficult at the moment to estimate the likelihood of this. It would cause tension between the Shah and Parliament, the degree of which would depend very much on the person proposed for the Premiership in the "vote of inclination." If he were a Suhaili or an Eqbal things might be smoothed over reasonably easily, but a more forceful personality such as Sayyed Zia-ud-Din Tabataba'i would be a different matter. The Shah might well resist having such a Prime Minister and disturbances could follow.

8. Another possibility is for the Shah to make the Majles a scapegoat for the failure of his present policy. Dissolution of the Majles is certainly one of the ideas in his mind, and if he feels himself sufficiently hard pressed he might take this course. This by itself would sharply increase tension and possibly lead to disturbances. If it were followed by new elections with candidates picked by the Shah and his present *clique* from amongst those whom he considers the "intellectual and progressive youth" (of which Jahangir Tafazzoli is a typical example) there would almost certainly be disturbances, probably serious ones. This could also happen if the present Majles were to come to a natural end and an attempt were then made to rig the next elections on the above lines. Routine preparations for the next elections are due to begin in two or three months and the elections themselves to be held at the end of this year and the beginning of next.

9. Disturbances, whether arising from Majles affairs or directly from pent-up dissatisfaction and anxiety, could take a serious form and might set off a *coup d'état* of some kind. Even Iranians of a normally non-revolutionary attitude of mind consider this a possibility and are speculating about what would happen to the Shah in such an eventuality. Exasperation with the Shah amongst some elements who would normally be considered his supporters is such that they sometimes seem almost resigned to the possibility of his having to go. It is to be hoped that things will not come to this. The Shahanshah as such is an important factor in Iranian political continuity; there seems to be no suitable successor in the Royal Family; and Iran has enough problems without indulging in changes of dynasty or the making of a republic. Nevertheless, I cannot disagree with the ever-growing feeling that because of his weaknesses the present Shah must be taught, and the force of events seems to be the only teacher he understands, to satisfy himself with the role of a constitutional monarch on something like modern European lines.

10. In addition to certain of the persons mentioned below who might come to power in a disturbed situation, the Tudeh Party and the Nationalists need to be considered. Fortunately the Tudeh Party has received some very hard knocks in the past year and is undoubtedly disorganised. But the conditions which helped the party so much in the past have not been changed and the recent deterioration in the situation provides an opportunity for Tudeh members to start discreet reinfiltration. I do not think that the Tudeh Party would be able to gain any substantial immediate advantage if there were disturbances in the next few months or so, but if there is no radical change in governmental action and methods the party should be able to build its organisation up again much more rapidly than would have been thought at all possible nine months ago. The Nationalists are in a stronger position. The effect of Musaddiq's failure is fading, his catchwords still find echoes, and he himself is due to be released from prison in a year's time. His former colleagues and followers lack solidarity at the moment but many of them might rally, if not around him, at least around a new leader. And the Shah's equivocal attitude towards some Nationalist elements could develop into positive encouragement if he thought that support elsewhere for him was seriously weakened

or in an attempt to prevent the coming to power of an independent and forceful Prime Minister.

11. It is a standing joke here that every Iranian secretly regards himself as a potential Prime Minister, but I shall confine myself to the more obvious possibilities. The most outstanding personality amongst them is without doubt Sayyed Zia-ud-Din Tabataba'i (1954 Personalities No. 163). He, himself, is confident that he could make a good start at putting Iran on its feet, but he is neither a supplicant nor a candidate in the ordinary sense for the Premiership. If he came to power he would, I believe, seek to act quickly and forcefully in a determined effort to turn Iran away from drift and despair, but the obstacles in his way would be formidable. The Shah would have to be forced in one way or another to accept him as Prime Minister. Very soon afterwards there would be occasions for clashes with the Shah as the Sayyed took the steps he would certainly consider necessary to shake the country out of the rut it is in and to gather the necessary authority into his own hands. The Shah alone would probably not be able to do very much but he would find troubled waters to fish in: the Nationalists, many members of the privileged classes, the Tudeh Party and the Russians would certainly do their best to queer the Sayyed's pitch. He would be dogged by the pro-British label he still wears. The Sayyed himself, however, thinks he would be able to take their breath away and to attract popular support before they could recover. A further difficulty, which might however be resolved, is that he is regarded with some suspicion by the Americans, chiefly, I believe, because he is unashamedly pro-British and critical of past and present American policy in Iran, but I do not think he is really anti-American.

12. Against all this Sayyed Zia has strength of character, experience, an imaginative understanding of his country and his fellow-countrymen, a plan of action, and loyal supporters in many different walks of life and in influential positions. He has at present considerable, but by no means overwhelming, support in Parliament. Although I find it difficult to foresee his coming to power in any but a disturbed situation, he could become Prime Minister by the wish of Parliament and not only by a *coup d'état* or something similar.

13. General Zahedi (Personality No. 172), too, is not quite a candidate in the ordinary sense. There is reason to believe that even now Zahedi could obtain a respectable majority in a completely free vote of the Majles, but the Shah would have to be very hard pressed to take Zahedi back after getting rid of him in the way he did. Moreover, Zahedi, in spite of his wise delegation of powers to Amini and Entezam during his Premiership and although he was showing some small signs of reforming his methods of government before he was forced out, is little more than a "strong man."

14. There are persistent rumours, which are not without foundation in fact, that the Shah is keeping in touch with Dr. Baqa'i (Personality No. 32). Not only could the latter become Prime Minister if the Nationalists gained the upper hand but in one of the situations mentioned in paragraph 10 above the Shah himself could appoint him. Baqa'i's coming to power would open the door to emotions and policies not very different from those ruling in Musaddiq's time, with the added dangers inherent in the recent Soviet appearance of sweet reasonableness.

15. Someone whom the Shah could pick on to carry out reforms rather than just to hold the fort is Dr. Eqbal (Personality No. 47). He has had considerable Ministerial experience and has a number of good qualities and of the right ideas, but he has no strong following and is widely considered, probably rightly, as being not yet big enough for much more than a routine Premiership. Moreover, his attitude to the Shah is equivocal. Whilst strongly criticising the Shah in private, he is too anxious to keep in the swim at the Court and is very ready to make use of the Shah's influence. He does not therefore hold out much promise of being able to take a firm and independent line as Prime Minister.

16. General Arfa (Personality No. 21) has inordinately high hopes of becoming Prime Minister. He is serious, patriotic and a reformer, and a professed believer in Anglo-American solidarity; but he lacks political experience and support in a number of influential quarters, including the Majles, and the Shah is wary of him. His admirable English wife would be a serious political handicap because of her nationality.

17. There are a number of persons whom the Shah could pick on according to the circumstances. I do not need to say anything more here about Asadullah Alam (Personality No. 7). Abdullah Entezam (Personality No. 44), the present Foreign Minister, with all his admirable qualities in this post and as a man, is not made of the necessary stuff, as was shown during the two-month period earlier this year when he acted as Deputy Prime Minister. General Taimur Bakhtiar, a protégé of the Shah's who has been Military Governor of Tehran for some 18 months, is also spoken of. He is young and active but has no political experience and in his present post seems to be at the level appropriate for him. Ali Suhaili (Personality No. 159), the Iranian Ambassador in London and Dr. Sajjadi (Personality No. 147) are also possibles but neither they nor Dr. Ali Amini (Personality No. 11), whom the Shah would have more difficulty in stomaching, are men who would take a radical approach.

18. There has been some talk in Tehran of a military *coup d'état* "on the Egyptian model." There is no military man in sight who seems to have the makings of a revolutionary leader, but I suppose that one could conceivably emerge. Otherwise, such a *coup* could bring in someone like Sayyed Zia or Zahedi.

19. To sum up, present methods of government seem unlikely to be able to continue for very much longer. A serious showdown, if only over the Shah's role in affairs, might be put off by one gambit or another for some time yet but the day of reckoning seems bound to come and the longer it is delayed the more perilous it will be. If the drift since Reza Shah's abdication is to be halted and constructive action taken in a way not unfavourable to Western interests the most promising candidate is Sayyed Zia, but there are formidable obstacles in his way. One or two other candidates in sight might be expected to do more than merely hold the position, but the others would almost certainly drift with the tide or open the door to worse evils.

20. Amongst the foreign Powers the Soviet Union is the one which should be best pleased with the present position, particularly when it is contrasted with last autumn after the discovery of the Tudeh military conspiracy. The new Moscow attitude in international affairs generally gives the Russians here considerable freedom of manoeuvre and a chance to present themselves in a much more attractive fashion than for many years. They are beginning to take effective advantage of this.

21. Our part in present and future events is very much in my mind. So far we have deliberately eschewed intervention in internal affairs, have resisted the attempts of self-interested Iranians to embroil us, and have actively discouraged, and when necessary debunked, those Iranians who seek to be intermediaries or to set themselves up as Embassy "spokesmen." I am convinced that this has been and is the right course. It has not only helped to disperse a considerable amount of suspicion of us but has led more and more to interested persons approaching us directly to know what we are thinking rather than to satisfy themselves with second-hand and, at best, garbled accounts. It has created more confidence amongst useful elements who were already well-disposed towards us and amongst others who were previously cautious, if not hostile. By following this course we have built up reserves of influence which will be all the more effective if we have to intervene, but which could soon be dissipated, perhaps irretrievably and seriously to our discredit, if we intervened too soon or in the wrong way. It is not therefore a course which should be substantially abandoned, however temporarily, without very good cause, and only then if we could be sure of walking in step with the Americans, who are as concerned and as uncertain as we about the present situation.

22. I feel strongly that we should not get drawn into things at this moment, particularly as regards the Shah. He might well like to use us to get out of his present position. To give him our frank opinion is clearly impossible; to advise him to rule rather than to govern would touch him on the sorest spot and would only confirm his suspicions that we may secretly be working against him. Before we had time to turn round we should no doubt be hearing stories, inspired by him, about our sabotaging his efforts to save his country. Nor should we at this stage be drawn by him into mentioning names of, or commenting on, possible alternative Prime Ministers. The man or the men we thought suitable would almost certainly be amongst those of whom the Shah is jealous or suspicious, and merely naming them could cook their goose, thereby confusing the situation even more. I think, therefore, that we should continue to watch affairs closely and to hold steady to

our present course. A critical moment may come when we and the Americans will feel obliged to intervene in some way. If this is to happen it would be preferable for us to wait for the moment when our intervention would be more in the nature of tipping the balance than of forcing the issue. This, if there is a choice, would be better certainly for us and probably also for Iran and the men who might take over.

23. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Nicosia.

I have, &c.

D. A. H. WRIGHT.

EP 1018/36

(3)

Mr. Macmillan to Sir Roger Makins (Washington)

(No. 493. Secret)

Foreign Office,

Sir,

August 16, 1955.

Your Excellency will now have seen Mr. Wright's despatch No. 84 of the 3rd of August and his telegram to me No. 541 of the 4th of August, about the internal situation in Iran.

2. I am ready to accept the view of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tehran that the time may not yet be ripe to advise the Shah to strengthen his Government; and I fully agree that United States support for any action we might decide to take in that regard would be very necessary. I concur also in Mr. Wright's belief that we might find difficulty in agreeing with the Americans over personalities: the Americans' suspicion of Sayyed Zia is a case in point.

3. Clearly our first move must be to bring home to the United States Government our grave concern at the recent deterioration in Iran's internal affairs. If therefore you have not already spoken to the State Department I should be glad if you would do so, at an appropriately high level, with the object of eliciting their assessment of the situation and their views on the means whereby an improvement in it might be effected. I do not consider that we need shrink from discussing political personalities should the State Department be so disposed; indeed, this is a nettle that will sooner or later have to be grasped.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tehran and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Nicosia.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

EP 1051/15

No. 17

**IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S CONVERSATION WITH THE
MINISTER OF STATE ON AUGUST 3, 1955**

Mr. Macmillan to Mr. Wright (Tehran)

(No. 108. Confidential)
Sir,

*Foreign Office,
August 3, 1955.*

Mr. Entezam, the Persian Foreign Minister, who is on a short visit to this country, called upon the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs this morning. Lord Reading conveyed to him the Prime Minister's and my regrets that we were absent from London during his visit, of which we had unfortunately had only very short notice. We were none the less extremely glad that Mr. Entezam had found it possible to come here before returning to Tehran.

2. Mr. Entezam said that he was all the more glad to be here since relations between his country and the United Kingdom had taken so favourable a turn now that the oil question was out of the way. He also desired to take the opportunity of being here to consult us on various matters which were causing him some concern.

3. The first problem was created by the Soviet invitation to the Shah to go to Moscow. Mr. Entezam said that he was very fortunate in having in our Ambassador in Tehran someone who liked and understood the country and to whom he could and did talk with complete freedom. He had already discussed with Her Majesty's Ambassador this particular question of the Shah's visit, but, being here, he would like to know our reactions.

4. Neither Mr. Entezam nor the Persian Ambassador, who accompanied him, was aware that the Persian Prime Minister had informed you that the Shah was thinking of going to Moscow in November (your telegram No. 536 of the 2nd of August). When Lord Reading disclosed this they were both plainly taken aback. Lord Reading added that, as Mr. Entezam had asked for our view, he could only say, first, that the Russians had in the not very distant past been so offensive in their remarks about Persia in general and the Shah in particular, that there did not seem any particular hurry for His Imperial Majesty to respond to their invitation. Second, there were obvious disadvantages in selecting November, since it was most probable that negotiations between the Foreign Ministers at Geneva would be proceeding throughout that month and no one could tell whether they might run into serious difficulties. If they did, the Shah might well find himself in an embarrassing position in Moscow. Mr. Entezam agreed and said that he would send a telegram at once urging these considerations upon the Shah and the Prime Minister.

5. He next asked whether we were content with the result of the Geneva Meeting. He added that when he had seen Mr. Dulles shortly before the Conference opened, he had said to him that he thought that the West would have reason to be satisfied if there were no actual breakdown. Lord Reading said that whilst we had been very anxious for such a meeting to take place, we had never had any extravagant hopes of the immediate result. It was, however, plain that a very much more relaxed atmosphere had come into existence which certainly made the prospects for the future more hopeful. Mr. Entezam said that he himself had been agreeably surprised by the progress made, though he realised that the real test would come when the Foreign Ministers got down to putting their agreed conclusions into black and white at the October meeting.

6. Mr. Entezam went on to say that the changed atmosphere had led him to reflect very carefully whether it would be good tactics for the Persians at this moment publicly to adhere to the Turkish-Iraqi Pact. He attributed great importance to the forthcoming staff talks. But that was quite a different matter from publicly parading an extension of a Pact which would be very unwelcome to the Russians. Moreover, so far as he could make out, the Pact was still very nebulous and nobody seemed to know what it did or how it did it. That might not be so important to the Turks and Iraqis who were some distance away, but it was a matter of great moment to the Persians who had a long and scarcely defensible frontier with the Soviet Union.

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7. Lord Reading said that, as Mr. Entezam knew, the Persians would be very welcome as members of the Pact; but we must leave the question of timing entirely to them. Mr. Entezam replied that he fully recognised that in the end the timing was for them to decide, but that he would be glad of any indication of our view on the point which he had just put. Lord Reading said he would like a little opportunity to think further about it; but at first sight there seemed to be advantage in not taking at this moment any overt step which might tend to spoil the improved atmosphere, especially as the staff talks were anyhow to take place.

8. Mr. Entezam then went on to say that he would like to make it clear that in his view Great Britain had a very special part to play in the Middle East. She had on the whole always been looked upon in that part of the world as a strongly liberalising influence. After the war the Russians had tried to seize that rôle for themselves, but had been quite unsuccessful. At the same time, although suspicion of this country in Persia was dying down and relations were improving daily, the whole situation could be transformed if Great Britain could make some convincing gesture of goodwill. It had by then become apparent that Mr. Entezam was leading up to the question of Bahrain, but Lord Reading enquired whether he had any specific idea in mind. The reply, of course, was that given goodwill no problem was impossible of solution, as the oil question had already proved and that he very much hoped that something could be done about Bahrain. Lord Reading said that this matter had already been brought up several times and it was perhaps a pity that Mr. Entezam should have selected as the most promising gesture of goodwill on our part one which he must know we were not in a position to make. At this point Mr. Entezam smiled broadly and said that we might possibly be able to think of some alternative.

9. The Ambassador then took up the running and raised the question of Kuwait. Lord Reading said that he knew that the Persian Government had been pressing this matter for some time. But he very much hoped that they would content themselves with following the same procedure as other countries and allowing any consular functions in Kuwait that were made necessary by the considerable Persian population there to be discharged from Basra. Mr. Entezam asked why we were so firmly opposed to Persia's opening a Consulate in Kuwait. Lord Reading said that in our view if we once began receiving Consuls from one or two countries the result would very quickly be the establishment of a large Consular Corps which would be quite out of scale with both the size and the importance of Kuwait.

10. Mr. Entezam then said there was one other matter that he would like to mention. They had for some time been discussing with Iraq the question of frontiers and especially of the administrative control of the Shatt-el-Arab which had a new importance now that coastal shelves were coming so much to the fore. The negotiations had been proceeding in a quite friendly way, but the Iraqis were not making much effort to hasten them. He would be grateful if we found it possible to mention the matter to Nuri Pasha and urge him to greater speed. Mr. Entezam added that their prolonged negotiations with the Afghans had fortunately at last been brought to a successful conclusion.

11. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Ankara, Bagdad, Moscow and Washington, to the Acting Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Nicosia, and to the Political Agent at Kuwait.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

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EP 11345/1

No. 18

SIGNATURE OF IRANIAN-UNITED STATES TREATY OF AMITY,
ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND CONSULAR RIGHTS*Mr. Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received August 22)*(No. 90 E. Confidential)
Sir,*Tehran,
August 17, 1955.*

I have the honour to report that a Treaty of Amity, Economic Relations and Consular Rights was signed between the United States and Iran on August 15. This Treaty, the text⁽¹⁾ of which is enclosed, is the result of a year and a half of negotiations. These negotiations took place on the basis of the standard American draft for such Treaties, and I understand that although the Iranians went through the Treaty with great care and proved able negotiators, there were never any major points at issue.

2. The signature of this Treaty is part of the policy initiated last year by the Iranian Government of entering into Treaties of Commerce and Navigation with all the major countries with which Iran is in relations. In the autumn of 1954 an Agreement was made with Germany reviving earlier Treaties of Commerce and Navigation (Sir Roger Stevens' Despatch No. 97 E. of November 30, 1954). Since then Treaties have been signed with Italy (Rome Despatch No. 246 of November 26, 1954) and India (Sir Roger Stevens' Despatch No. 106 E. of December 22, 1954), and it has just been announced that a Treaty is to be negotiated with Saudi Arabia.

3. We were informed unofficially some months ago that the Iranian Government would like to negotiate a fresh Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the United Kingdom, and it is likely that with the United States Treaty out of the way we will shortly be faced with a request to this effect.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Board of Trade, to Her Majesty's Treasury and to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

I have, &c.

D. A. H. WRIGHT.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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V 1073/1190

No. 19

RATIFICATION BY THE IRANIAN PARLIAMENT OF IRANIAN
ADHERENCE TO THE BAGDAD PACT*Mr. Titchener to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 31)*(No. 117. Confidential) *Tehran,
October 26, 1955.*
Sir,

I have the honour to report on the events leading up to ratification by the Persian Parliament of the Persian adherence to the Iraq-Turkish Defence Pact.

2. On the 8th of October the Shah, in a speech inaugurating the Senate's new session, spoke of the disadvantages resulting from Persian neutrality in the past and stressed the need for building up Persian defensive strength within the framework of the United Nations. Although this speech was in essence very similar to one made to the Majles by the Prime Minister on the 20th of September and although no mention was made of the Bagdad Pact, its intention had already been made clear privately and it was immediately interpreted as indicating a decision to join the pact. The Government informed the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Senate and the Majles of this decision on the 11th and 12th of October respectively and, after informing the parties to the pact of their intention, formally presented the Ratification Bill to the Senate on the 12th. The Bill was presented under an "urgency" procedure, providing for one reading only in Committee, which was approved on the same day. The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee reported favourably and the Bill was approved by the Senate in five hours on the 19th of October. The Bill was presented to the Majles on the 20th of October, when a similar procedure was approved. The Majles Foreign Affairs Committee decided in favour of the Bill on the same day and it was approved by the Majles in three hours on the 23rd of October. The procedure of ratification was completed when the Shah signed the law on the 25th October.

3. The votes in the Senate and the Majles were taken by those in favour standing up in their places, an unusual procedure for a matter of such importance, which would normally be decided upon by ballot. There is little doubt that the Government, or rather the Shah, intended thereby further to intimidate the potential Opposition, which

seemed already to have been cowed. The Senate vote was 39 in favour to 4 against, with some 6 deliberate absentees. The latter included the President of the Senate, Taqizadeh, who feigned sickness but who, on the 10th of October, had spoken of the need for "moderation" in Persian foreign policy, a statement which was interpreted as opposition to adherence. When the Majles voted, 102 stood up in favour and 2 remained seated. (There were some 9 deliberate absentees.) The President nevertheless declared the vote to have been unanimous. Allowing for a larger number of Majles absentees on this occasion, the votes of the two Houses were not very different from those on the oil agreement last year, which were taken by ballot. There was, however, more opportunity for discussion, particularly by the Opposition, on the oil agreement (the meetings of the joint Senate/Majles Committee lasted over two weeks and there were in all fourteen plenary meetings of the two Houses) and the pressure brought to bear then was certainly less than for ratification of adherence to the pact.

4. Speeches in both Houses were relatively few. Those who spoke in favour of adherence were on the whole the most effective. The Opposition in the Senate consisted of a handful of Nationalists who had voted against the oil agreement, but Ebrahim Khajeh-Nuri also spoke against hurrying a decision and absented himself from the final vote. The only Deputy to come out clearly against the pact was Ha'erizadeh, an indifferent orator who harped too much on his favourite theme of British machinations and made too little use of criticisms with which many of his colleagues might at heart have agreed to be effective. It is, however, worth noting that although his six or seven Opposition colleagues had made a point of publicly breaking with him over his attitude to the pact, most of them did not vote for ratification when it came to the point.

5. Not much effort was made to hide the fact that ratification was being forced through quickly. With the exception of a

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few of the speakers there was no noticeable enthusiasm for adherence and there was little analysis of the various implications of the pact even by the Government. A number of Deputies and Senators made it clear in private conversation that they were not in favour of adherence, at least at this time, but that they would of course vote for it. There is little doubt that this was the private opinion of a large number in each House. An indication of the parliamentary attitude was given by the Majles when the Prime Minister made a speech of thanks after the vote had been taken. The Deputies talked amongst themselves and paid little attention to what the Prime Minister had to say except for a few cynical comments when he spoke of the Government's plans for economic improvement and one or two protests when he interpreted the vote as a vote of confidence in the Government.

6. The sharp Soviet aide-mémoire of the 13th of October to the effect that adherence to the pact was incompatible with the maintenance of peace and contrary to the good-neighbourly relations and treaty obligations between Persia and the U.S.S.R., and the Persian Government's firm but polite reply of the 15th of October which described the Soviet interpretation as incorrect and inadmissible and pointed out that the pact was in consonance with United Nations principles and did not in any way conflict with the treaty relations of the two countries, created a certain sense of solidarity which helped to make ratification more palatable. There was an element of the ridiculous in the sudden Soviet postponement *sine die* of a visit by a group of Russian indifferent musicians to Tehran, but the postponement of the conclusion of a large purchase of rice from Persia was taken more seriously. Although Soviet reactions so far do not seem to have noticeably increased the anxiety which already existed on this score, there is considerable fear of Soviet economic reprisals and even of Soviet-inspired measures inside Persia itself, amongst which sabotage is often mentioned.

7. There are one or two other points arising from adherence to the pact which are much in the minds of Persians inside and outside Parliament. Of these the question of the benefits which Persia can or will derive from adherence is perhaps the most important. Many members of Parliament had hoped to save their faces over voting for ratification by first receiving some assurances about the benefits to be

expected. At first the Government took the line that Persia was joining the pact purely on the basis of the principles involved and not in order to be better placed to solicit material aid from abroad. Gradually, however, Government statements and inspired press comment spoke of economic advantages, unspecified, to be derived from adherence and, although the Government made no direct allusion to this point in speaking to the Parliament, and the public has come to believe that substantial financial aid is to be expected from the United States. Much depends on what comes of this. The economic and financial situation was already the subject of considerable anxiety before adherence was announced and public opinion is certainly looking for definite improvement in this field, with or without the pact.

8. At the moment it seems to be accepted that no material aid is to be expected from the United Kingdom as a result of adherence. In fact as regards ourselves there is so far only vague talk of closer collaboration and of increased moral and political support of Persia, in particular *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union.

9. Another important element in Persian thinking is the widely-accepted interpretation of adherence as a deliberate move by the Shah to strengthen his personal position on the international plane, and internally by building up the army. The popularity of the Shah has of late waned, though he, in private conversation and in his public statements, has shown no awareness of this. Accession may not have increased his popularity, but the manner in which he pushed it through has earned respect, albeit grudging. In this imperfect country respect is inclined to pay greater dividends than popularity. So far as the army is concerned, the Prime Minister told me a day or so ago that accession had had a striking effect on the army's morale and he was clearly gratified at this unexpected and unlooked-for windfall. The future of this country would indeed have been black if the recent deterioration in the morale of the army had continued unchecked.

10. In the few days since ratification there has been a steady swing in opinion towards the pact, even among many who were apathetic or critical. The swing is largely due to relief that the period of doubt and uncertainty is passed and what had to be done was done quickly. Those whose concern is less for their country than for

their personal position have shared in the relief and are prominent in their participation in this mood of self-congratulation, for, if over the years the Bagdad Pact is proved to have been a wise decision, did they not vote for it: if the country, however, has need to regret the decision, are there not witnesses that they voted only under duress?

11. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Ankara, Bagdad, Karachi, the Political Office, Middle East Forces, Nicosia and Washington.

I have, &c.

J. L. B. TITCHENER

(*Chargé d'Affaires*).

EP 10344/7

No. 20

VISIT TO TEHRAN OF THE PRESIDENT OF TURKEY

Mr. Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 3)(No. 108. Secret)
Sir,*Tehran,
September 29, 1955.*

I have the honour to report that President Jelal Bayar of Turkey paid a State visit to Tehran from September 19 to 26. He was accompanied by Mr. Zorlu, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tekli, rapporteur of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Turkish National Assembly, Mr. Nuri Birgi, Secretary-General of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Rustu Erdelhan, Vice-Chief of the Turkish General Staff, and six other officials.

2. As you will know from my telegrams before the President's arrival the Shah and the Iranian Government considered at length what their attitude should be if they were pressed by the Turks to join the Baghdad Pact. Mr. Entezam, the Iranian Foreign Minister, was summoned back from Paris to participate in these discussions. He arrived, albeit reluctantly, two days before the President of Turkey, complaining that he was a sick man and needed a further long period of medical treatment. The Shah, who has for the past year or more been consistent in his resolution that Iran should join the pact, appeared to have persuaded his Government by the time President Bayar arrived that Iran should, in principle, adhere to the pact. The timing of adherence was, however, to be left open and should depend in large part on whether Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government gave adequate assurances of their willingness to go to the assistance of Iran in the event of aggression against Iranian territory and to provide aid for the building up of the Iranian armed forces. Meanwhile what was, for the Iranians, an adroit Press campaign, was set in train to prepare public opinion for the possibility of Iranian adherence.

3. This was the political setting at the moment of President Bayar's arrival. The Shah and most of his Government were present at Mehrabad airport to meet him; but the Diplomatic Corps were not invited to attend and the presence, at the airport, of the American Ambassador and myself was clearly embarrassing to the Iranians and all reference to our presence was conspicuously absent from the Press.

4. Outwardly the visit has been a succession of formal visits, receptions and military displays with every night except one, State banquets at 8 o'clock, to which Cabinet Ministers and Heads of Missions were invited, followed at 10 o'clock by receptions for the remainder of the Diplomatic Corps and other dignitaries. In fact, the Iranians and Turks also transacted a good deal of business, resulting in a decision in principle by the Iranian Government to adhere to the Baghdad Pact, either shortly before or after the Geneva meetings, and in agreements on economic and cultural interchange between the two countries.

5. It was noticeable that the Shah attended almost all the functions at which the President was present, including all the banquets. There is no doubt that this was a last minute decision and according to reliable report resulted from the Turkish President having told the Shah that Kemal Ataturk attended every function when the Shah's father visited Turkey before the war, and that he expected the Shah to do likewise. Neither Queen Suraya nor the Prime Minister's wife attended any of the functions; the former because she continues to enjoy herself in France and shows no disposition to hurry her return to Iran; the latter because she steadfastly refuses to attend functions where she would meet the Shah.

6. After each banquet the Shah, President Bayar and the Turkish Foreign Minister retired to a drawing room where, in full view of all the guests who wished to observe them but out of earshot, they held long and apparently earnest discussions through the interpretership sometimes of Mr. Zorlu and sometimes of an official interpreter until half past one or two o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile the guests were corralled like cattle, with an inadequate supply of drink and, if they felt impelled to enliven their boredom, bad dance music to dance to on even worse dance floors. The Diplomatic Corps, at any rate, has emerged from the visit tired and a little resentful.

7. Before President Bayar's departure a joint communiqué and a joint declaration on economic matters were issued, of which I attach translations as

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annexed⁽¹⁾ to this despatch. The President also made a statement stressing the amity between Iran and Turkey and saying how much he had enjoyed his visit. He subsequently gave a Press conference at which, in response to questions, he implied that defence had been one of the subjects discussed during his visit and said that collaboration (presumably on defence) between Iran and Turkey would be beneficial for both countries because it would ensure the maintenance of peace in the area; but that the decision whether or not to collaborate was for the Iranians. He also said that the Turks had not issued a formal or informal invitation to the Iranians to join the Baghdad Pact, which in any case they alone, without the other signatories of the Pact, were not in a position to do.

8. Undoubtedly the most important subject discussed between the Iranians and the Turks was that of Iranian adherence to the Pact. In spite of assurances given by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to our Embassy in Ankara (Ankara telegram No. 659 of September 16), the Turks exerted all possible pressure on the Iranians to join immediately. They did this skilfully and to this end sought to enlist the aid of the American Ambassador and myself, but neither of us was authorised to do more than inform the Iranians that while our Governments would welcome their adherence to the Pact we could offer no inducements or advice on timing. The line the Turks took was that now was the time, with the air still full of the Geneva spirit, when the Russians were least likely to react badly. An effort was made to allay Iranian fears that Turkish troops, if they should enter Azerbaijan, might not be withdrawn. In reply to the Iranian argument that they could not risk adherence without some guarantee of military and economic aid, the Turks answered that the Iranians should join first, just as the Turks had entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and the aid would follow. This argument and the false hopes it has probably raised of American aid seems to have carried much weight with the Iranians and to have strengthened the Shah's hand in dealing with the waverers, since it now seems certain that a decision has been taken in favour of early adherence, probably before the Foreign Ministers meet in Geneva at the end of October.

9. It is worth recording in this context that the Shah and his Prime Minister have accepted without demur my statement to them both that, even if Iran were to join the Pact, she could expect no economic aid from Her Majesty's Government. They have been far less happy with the attitude of the American Government, and seem to detect in the American refusal to make any promises about future economic or military aid, a lessening of American interest in Iran. This attitude is to some extent understandable since, until recently, the Americans have been inclined to encourage the Iranians to come into the Pact quickly.

10. As will be noticed from the attached joint declaration on economic matters, considerable prominence has been given to the economic results of the visit which, it is claimed, will lead to the development of rail and road communications and of transit trade between the two countries. Such pious hopes have been a recurrent theme in Turco-Iranian relations, and indeed the visit of the Shah's father to Turkey was partly designed to inaugurate a revival of transit trade from Tabriz to Trebizond. I very much doubt whether much more will result from this latest enthusiasm than has emerged in the past. I have already reported in my telegram No. 3 to Ankara of September 26 on the deal concluded during this visit for 30,000 to 40,000 tons per annum of Iranian petroleum products from the Kermanshah refinery to be transported to eastern Turkey.

11. The visit received a very full and friendly Press coverage, noticeably more than for the recent visit of the King of Saudi Arabia. Turco-Iranian relations are not unfriendly, but the Iranians do not admire the Turks and are jealous of their progress and the foreign aid they have received since the war. Whether the visit will result in bringing the two countries closer together will clearly depend on the extent to which the co-operation envisaged in the joint communiqué and declaration is carried into practice; for the moment it has left the Iranian Government with a healthy respect for Turkey's leaders.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Ankara, Baghdad, Washington, and to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Karachi and the Head of the British Middle East Office, Nicosia.

I have, &c.

D. A. H. WRIGHT.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed

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EP 1051/37

No. 21

CONVERSATION WITH THE SHAH

Mr. Titchener to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 25)(No. 132. Secret)
Sir,*Tehran,
November 23, 1955.*

I have the honour to report that the Shah received me in audience on the 20th of November at the Marble Palace at my request. It was the first time that I had met His Majesty on any occasion other than the purely formal.

2. I am reporting separately on specific questions which I raised and in this despatch I shall describe only the main stream of our conversation as the Shah directed it. He showed no disposition to indulge in small talk and the exchange of courtesies was quickly over. Nevertheless, the audience lasted 2 hours and 20 minutes. The Shah, who was most friendly and informal, never attempted to monopolise the conversation, but to avoid lengthening a long despatch further I shall record as little as possible of my part in the conversation.

The Attempt on Mr. Ala's Life

3. The Shah said that he did not know what the Fedayan-e-Islam sect hoped to achieve by an attack on the Prime Minister. Did they think for one moment that Ala's death, or other deaths, would bring about any change in policy? If so, they were mistaken. Even his own death would not. The assailant had come from Kuwait only two months ago. Although the Fedayan-e-Islam masqueraded as a religious sect they were merely a terrorist organisation with political aims and directives. They had been responsible for General Razmara's assassination, and he wondered whether they were linked to the Moslem Brotherhood, receiving orders from them. The leader of the sect (Narab Safavi) had disappeared. It was not believed that the sect were numerous, but there was no certain knowledge. I said that it might be possible to discover more about the assailant and his background from Kuwait, provided that we could be given all the information available. The Shah said that he would see this was done.

The Baghdad Pact and United States Aid

4. The Shah said that he was extremely pleased that he had followed his own views about the timing of Iran's accession to the Baghdad Pact. As events had turned out, accession after the Geneva meeting would have been much more provocative. He referred to the interview with the Soviet Ambassador during the Turkish presidential visit in September last, at which the Soviet Government had offered to provide all the military and financial assistance Iran would want on condition that she did not join the Pact. He had refused. Having joined the Pact, and thus made a very considerable contribution towards Middle East defence, Iran had a right to expect some recognition from those whose cause she was serving. The United States had poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Turkey, but were making considerable difficulties about providing further assistance to Iran. Yet if any country merited help, it was surely Iran. At the end of the war Turkey had been left with an army of a million strong, and had reaped the benefits of being wooed successively by the Germans, the British and the United States. Iran had been overrun, occupied; and when she had turned to the United States for support in clearing the Russians out of Azerbaijan, she had been told by the United States Ambassador (Mr. Allen) that the United States would not risk war for an Iranian province. Unaided and friendless, the Iranians had forced the Russians out of that province. If the Turks had earned respect and assistance of the United States for their robust anti-Soviet stand, surely Iran was similarly entitled. But at this critical juncture in the history of the country, the United States, so he was informed, were trying to force Iran to use the oil revenues to balance the budget and pay for defence, and for development purposes, to resort to foreign loans. He must warn us that that was impossible politically. The United States were reported to be insisting that any loan should be raised through the Export-Import Bank; these loans could only be spent on United States material and services; and also that they must be awarded the Karaj Dam project. The answer was a categorical no. Iran would rather go

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without, and, if she went without, the consequences would be on the heads of the United States and ourselves. Foreigners sometimes believed that they knew more about a country than the people themselves. Americans would fly in for two days and think they knew all about the country. He knew his people, and we must trust his judgment in this matter. He had arranged for the re-establishment of relations with the United Kingdom; he had pushed through the Oil Agreement; and he had determined his country's entry into the Baghdad Pact; he must be allowed to know what was, or was not, acceptable to his country. If the Western Powers wanted to wreck the Baghdad Pact, this would be the way to go about it. Neither his Government, nor he himself, would survive such a policy.

5. I said that I had not heard of any United States proposals couched in those terms and doubted that they represented United States thinking. However, I could understand the United States believing that further budgetary assistance should take the form of a loan rather than a grant, bearing in mind Iran's expectations from the oil industry. I reminded the Shah that when budgetary assistance had been requested from the United States last year it had been requested and granted on a once-for-all basis. He must not be surprised if United States public opinion hesitated at a further request now. Moreover, was it yet known how much money the Plan Organisation would in fact be able to use during the next two years? Development schemes had to have slow and small beginnings, and it was usually only towards the end of a programme that disbursements reached astronomical figures. Did he know how much the Plan Organisation's commitments amounted to? The Shah said that he did not know, but that Mr. Ebtehaj had the figures. In any case the Plan Organisation could spend more than the oil revenues. For example, John Mowlems were to build 6,000 km. of road, but there were 24,000 km. needing to be built. I said that I recognised that, but until there had been a labour survey, no one, not even Mr. Ebtehaj, knew whether or not there was sufficient labour for the work already being undertaken. The Shah replied that he saw no objection to the introduction of skilled labour from abroad. I reminded him of the amount of prejudice that the recruitment of foreign technicians seems to arouse, and of the need for circumspection in their employment, with which he agreed.

6. Time and again throughout the audience the Shah reverted, intensely critically, to the United States attitude on the budget deficit. I am reporting separately on this question, but should perhaps mention here that when I met Mr. Ebtehaj that evening and asked him whether he had evolved detailed estimates of expenditure he was evasive.

Defence

7. The Shah then turned to the problem of defending the country. The present Iranian Army, he said, could not be expected to hold a Soviet attack in the North more than two or three days at the most. Until they were very much stronger there was no alternative to the Zagros line if Iran was to be defended at all. He had taken this decision against the advice of his staff officers. But he knew better than they. It would need 20 to 25 divisions of fully trained troops to defend the northern territory including Tehran. He did not propose increasing the armed forces yet and a defence line north of the Zagros could come only as Iran became stronger, then only step by step.

Reforms

8. The Shah raised the question of confidence in the future of Iran. He asked if the United States thought that Iranians liked to ask for financial assistance. His people were proud and independent. I said that in this, as in other matters, it was not possible to dismiss the recent past. Moreover Iran could hardly complain of being misjudged when so many of her own people took pains to broadcast her frailties. The Shah then referred to Iran's achievements over the past two years and asked what country had done as much in that time. I commented that it was not the present Government's ability to put their house in order, but their willingness to do so which some people doubted. I mentioned the reform of the Civil Service. The Shah said that a Bill was shortly to be presented to the Majlis. It would provide for the removal of the host of Government employees (about 60 per cent. of the total of 160,000) who drew pay without working and who must cease to be a drain on the country's resources. It had been proposed that their pension rights should be bought outright in the course of the next two years, and it was hoped that the development programme would

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absorb a great number of them. I expressed doubts whether the budget would be able to support a measure of this kind and whether the development programme could be expected to absorb very many of the redundant, who might be unsuitable, if not unemployable, in such work. I suggested that a formula which perhaps gave them five years' notice with full pay and then a year's pay as bonus might be more humanitarian and more practical financially. The Shah showed keen interest in this, and said he would like to discuss it with his advisers. I suggested that the reform of the Civil Service should perhaps be the object of study by an impartial Royal Commission composed of the best of the civil servants.

Anglo-Iranian Relations

9. The Shah said we had reason to be extremely pleased with the way in which relations between our two countries had developed in the last two years. The Embassy had by its bearing and behaviour regained the confidence and respect of the people of this country. There seemed nothing now to prevent Britain establishing herself in the minds of the Iranians as their most trusted ally and friend. We had ceased to interfere in the internal affairs of the country, and that was at last being understood. In treating this country as an ally and an equal we were making a profound impression. There were those who feared we might be interested in dividing the country into spheres of influence, and the remark of Mr. Duncan Sandys two years ago still rankled; the recent book by Elwell Sutton (*Persian Oil*) helped to keep this fiction alive. When challenged on the alleged statement by Mr. Sandys the Shah somewhat lamely said it was in the Press. The Shah then said that the blame for the slow development of this country could fairly be laid at the door of the British. Our decision to violate Iran's neutrality during the war had been a blunder of the first order. It had led to the impoverishment of its people, and, in the north, where the Russians had come in, to the stripping of the country of almost every movable object, the results of which were still apparent in the economy of the country. I said that I understood the decision to enter his country had been taken because we had reason to believe that his father was negotiating with the Germans: we were at that time fighting for our lives, and indeed fighting for the world's, including Iran's future. He asked why we did not trouble to verify the information on which our decision was taken. He knew his father was a difficult man to approach, but the information could have been verified. I said that we were altogether satisfied at the time that the information came from a wholly reliable source, but that in any case, at as crucial a time as that there was a limit to the time which could be spent in verification; in any case his father would hardly have been likely to admit that he was negotiating with the Germans if we had asked.

10. The Shah said that he was very close to his father and knew what was afoot and no negotiations were in train or likely. I reminded the Shah that his father might have been forgiven for believing at that time that the Germans were likely to succeed in winning the war, and that therefore a policy which favoured them might have been believed to have been a sensible form of insurance. He said that shortly before our incursion into Iran his father had sent for him and warned him that the Germans were the most dangerous of all people, advising him always to be extremely cautious in any dealings with them. The Shah then went on to say that I should remember too that dictators as a rule hate one another; his father was a dictator and hated Hitler more than any of the others; there was no possible ground for collaboration there. I said that it was indeed unfortunate that he had given us so marked an impression of collaboration.

11. I have since been told by *The Times* correspondent here, who in those days acted as interpreter for His Majesty's Minister, that Sir Reader Bullard had made repeated and unsuccessful attempts to obtain an audience with Reza Shah.

12. His Majesty then said that we had been wrong to force the Government of the day, in 1945, to introduce a system of elected representation in the Majlis on the British model. The British had the most advanced form of democratic representation in the world, which no country, even in Europe, had quite come up to. It was not to be expected that such a system would work when forced on a backward and ignorant country such as Iran. He was now saddled with a Majlis which met an hour a day two days a week, talked about everything but the Bill before them, and took eight months to pass the simplest measure. Were it not for his constant intervention, nothing would be done even now.

13. In this recital of complaints I detected little or nothing of the rancour that used, I believe, to be so marked a feature of his attitude towards us. He seemed to recognise that if mistakes were made it was not due to ill intentions. He gave throughout the audience an impression of self-confidence; indeed he said that he had much more confidence in himself, his own judgment and his responsibilities towards the country than he had had at any previous time. His mind seemed to be made up on the reforms which were necessary for his country, and on the length of time, patience and perseverance required to put them into effect. If it were possible to ensure that his close personal advisers were well chosen, there would be more grounds for sharing his optimism.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Moscow, Ankara and Baghdad, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Karachi, and to the Political Adviser to the Middle East Forces at Nicosia.

I have, &c.

J. L. B. TITCHENER.

EP 1018/61

No. 22

ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Titchener to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 26)

(No. 133. Confidential)

Tehran,

Sir,

November 23, 1955.

In my telegram No. 865 of the 17th of November, I reported an attempt to assassinate the Iranian Prime Minister, Mr. Husain Ala. I now have the honour to give more detail on the attempt and the reactions to it.

2. The attempt was made at about 3.45 p.m. on the 17th of November inside the entrance to the main mosque (Masjed-e-Shah) near the Tehran bazaar. Mr. Ala was about to join a memorial service there for the Majlis Deputy and son of the well-known mulla, Mustafa Kashani, who had died unexpectedly two days earlier. It was in the same mosque that General Razmara was assassinated in 1951. Descriptions of what happened, even from bystanders, vary considerably. It seems, however, that the assailant, Muzaffar Ali Zulqadr, was able to approach the Prime Minister without difficulty and fired one shot from an automatic pistol. The bullet apparently grazed Mr. Ala, although some reports have it that someone knocked the assailant's arm up as he was about to fire and the bullet missed. In any event the Prime Minister was not seriously hurt and the gun jammed after the first shot. Zulqadr then attempted to hit the Prime Minister on the head with the gun but was soon dragged off. Blood was drawn but the wound was superficial and after treatment Mr. Ala was able to return home. A message from him personally, in which he thanked God for his deliverance and promised to uphold Iran's rights at the first meeting of the Council of the Baghdad Pact, was broadcast the same evening. He left by train for Khorramshahr and Baghdad the next morning in high spirits, talking of his new lease of life. Considering his age and his delicate state of health he showed a remarkable recovery from the shock.

3. Zulqadr was also carrying a knife, which he did not attempt to use, and was wearing a shroud (the under-shirt of the religious) covered with writing. This included quotations from the Quran, slogans about the defence of Islam and a sentence to the effect that the hands of the enemies of Iran and Islam and of foreigners (specified as England, America and Russia) be cut off, and that the Baghdad Pact, the oil agreement and other such agreements should be annulled. One of the texts from the Quran was a more or less traditional one for a religious assassin, promising eternal life to him who dies in the cause of God.

4. One cannot be certain of Zulqadr's motives and connexions, partly because the announcements so far made by the security authorities have been contradictory on a number of points. He is reported to have claimed affiliation to the *Feda'iyen-e-Islam* (Devotees of Islam), the religious terrorist organisation which organised the assassination of Hafez, Razmara and others. Both the Shah and the Minister of the Interior have stressed to me since that the religious aspect of this organisation is largely a cover for its aims of political terrorism. The Shah added that he had no definite information about the organisation's strength but did not believe that it was very large. It is similar to, and may even have connexions with, the Moslem Brotherhood in the Arab countries. Zulqadr has also been reported to have said that he had been in close touch for seven months with Navab Safavi, the head of the organisation, who disappeared at about the time of the attempt. He also claimed to have received instructions and the gun itself from Safavi. The latter's second-in-command is reported to have been arrested. Zulqadr is in his early thirties and according to the statements of the Military Government is an illiterate religious fanatic who can easily be led by playing on his fanaticism. The Military Governor has told a member of my staff that so far he has found nothing to connect Zulqadr with the Tudeh Party, but there might of course be some connexion between the Tudeh Party and the *Feda'iyen-e-Islam* itself, and in any case the authorities are deliberately keeping the possibility of a link with the Tudeh Party alive in their guidance to the Press. The Shah told me that Zulqadr came from Kuwait about two months ago, but I do not know how this is reconciled with the length of time he is said to have been in

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touch with Safavi. Zulqadr, who is a native of Zenjan (half-way between Tehran and Tabriz) had been working in Tehran, near the mosque in question, as a painter.

5. Mr. Ala probably owes his life to the jamming of the gun. The Minister of the Interior told me, and this has since been confirmed by the Military Governor, that the first round was of smaller calibre than the gun and that consequently the force of the shot was considerably weakened and the recoil was not sufficient to bring the next round into the firing position. The gun itself was apparently in good order.

6. There has, of course, been considerable speculation about who inspired the attempt. The connexion with the *Feda'iyen-e-Islam* seems to be more or less accepted, but many Iranians typically suggest that there must also have been some foreign inspiration. The majority think the Russians engineered it as a move against Iranian adherence to the Baghdad Pact. There are some, however, who think it was the British. The Minister of the Interior even claimed that some Senators, after he had spoken of the attempt in the Senate, had warned him of this possibility, arguing that we secretly hankered after the old arrangement of "spheres of influence" in Iran shared with the Russians; and that our basic policy was therefore to bring about a state of anarchy, so that we should have an excuse for moving in and carving up the country. Others think that we arranged it in order to give the Shah a shock and bring home to him the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Iran. The Americans, for once, do not seem to be suspected.

7. When I saw the Shah on the 20th of November he said that if Ala had died, or even if he himself were killed, there would be no change in the country's policy. Most Iranians agree that Ala's death would probably have made little difference and express surprise that it was he who was picked on. They talk of him as a rather pathetic old man who has no real responsibility for the country's affairs and come to the conclusion that he was singled out only because of his symbolic value as Prime Minister. A number of persons have suggested that if the victim had been the Minister of the Interior or the Military Governor, General Bakhtiari, there would have been more point in the attempt.

8. The slogan on the assailant's shroud about annulment of the Baghdad Pact and the fact that the attempt was made the day before Mr. Ala was to leave for the meeting at Baghdad have encouraged the speculation about Soviet inspiration but they do not seem to have affected attitudes to the pact itself, but the attempt will no doubt provide a talking-point for the opponents of the pact. The timing of the attempt seems in any case to have been fortuitous. The Prime Minister would not have visited the mosque on that day if it had not been for Kashani's unforeseen death. In fact, according to the Military Governor, Zulqadr did not even know who his victim was to be until the day before the attempt, when he was given the gun and his final instructions.

9. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Baghdad and Washington, the Head of the Political Office with the Middle East Forces and the Political Agent at Kuwait.

I have, &c.,

J. L. B. TITCHENER.

SECRET

EP 1018/66

No. 23

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received December 19)

(No. 141. Confidential)

Sir,

Tehran.

December 14, 1955.

With reference to Mr. Titchener's despatch No. 133 of the 23rd of November, I have the honour to inform you that it has been clearly established that the man who attempted to assassinate the Iranian Prime Minister was directly inspired by the Feda'yan-e-Islam and that the security authorities have been rounding up as many members of this organisation as they can find.

2. In all about thirty persons have been arrested. Some of them seem to have been already released. The security authorities believe that there are some key members still at large. Those arrested so far include Navab Safavi, the leader of the organisation, Khalil Tahmasebi, the assassin of General Razmara who was pardoned by the Majlis at Musaddeq's instigation, and Abdul Husain Vahedi, the second-in-command of the organisation. The latter, who was arrested in Ahwaz, was shot dead by his guards, apparently whilst attempting to escape on the way to Tehran.

3. Although the security authorities have so far found no evidence of any connexion between the Feda'yan-e-Islam and the Tudeh Party they are still keeping speculation about this alive. There have been hints of the organisation's having obtained funds from various (unspecified) sources and the latest statement claims that Safavi has admitted to having been in touch with the Moslem Brotherhood. This last point is very likely: Safavi has spent a certain amount of time in the last few years visiting the Arab countries. The Military Governor has also told a member of my staff that he is on the track of evidence that the organisation has received money from Saudi Arabia. King Sa'ud on his visit here a few months ago certainly made a number of gifts to various religious personalities and groups.

4. Most of those arrested are now being interrogated by the Military Prosecutor with a view to their being tried under an article of the Military Law which provides for the death sentence for persons aiming to overthrow the constitutional régime. Tahmasebi, General Razmara's assassin, is in a different position. The law pardoning him was one of those which was not passed by the Senate because of its dissolution by Musaddeq in late 1952. The Senate is now considering these laws and is expected to reject this one. If so, and if the Majles agrees, Tahmasebi seems likely to be hanged at last for his crime of nearly five years ago.

5. I am copying this despatch to the Head of the Political Office with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

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No. 24

THE SUCCESSION TO THE IRANIAN THRONE

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Macmillan. (Received December 19)

(No. 142. Confidential)

Sir,

Tehran,

December 13, 1955.

With reference to my despatch No. 93 of the 16th of November, 1954, I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty the Shah seems to be seriously considering the nomination of Prince Ghulam Reza, his eldest half-brother, as his heir presumptive.

2. I have learned in strict confidence from the Emam Jum'eh (the High Priest of Tehran) who was present, that a few weeks ago the Shah discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Senate and the Majles, the Minister of the Interior and himself. The Shah said he thought it would be a wise precaution to provide for the succession to the throne and that he considered Prince Ghulam Reza to be the most suitable candidate. Mr. Ala, the Prime Minister, suggested that there was no hurry as it was to be hoped that the Shah would have a direct heir. The latter agreed that this was possible but in a way which was interpreted as indicating that he had little hope of it.

3. The provisions of the Constitution about the succession were then discussed. The Shah said these permitted the nomination of Prince Ghulam Reza. As his father was Pahlavi the Prince could not be regarded as a Qajar. Mr. Ala commented that Prince Ghulam Reza's character and behaviour were not the same as the Shah's, but the latter brushed this implied objection aside. It was then suggested that Princess Ashraf's young son might marry Princess Shahuaz, the Shah's daughter by the former Queen Fauzieh, and be made heir presumptive, but the Shah showed his dislike of this. Princess Ashraf herself was mentioned as a possible successor but the Shah said this was against Islam and the constitution. The name of Prince Abd-ur-Reza, the Shah's second eldest half-brother, was not mentioned. The visitors then withdrew to consider the matter further in the Prime Minister's Office. After a short discussion they agreed that the matter needed careful study and asked the Prime Minister so to inform the Shah.

4. It was already known before this audience how the Shah's mind was working. He had discussed the matter tentatively with a number of persons and had also let it be known that Prince Ghulam Reza should be paid more marked signs of respect when carrying out public functions. This was done when the Prince made a tour in southern Iran a month or so ago, and recent press coverage of his activities has been fuller than formerly.

5. If the Emam Jum'eh is to be believed, and he is a fairly reliable informant in spite of his personal prejudices in the matter, the Shah's idea has not been well received, for varying reasons, by the Queen Mother, the Shah's sisters and the Prime Minister, although the Emam thinks that Queen Suraya probably favours it since the nomination of a successor would reduce the importance of her not having produced an heir herself so far. Some of this opposition no doubt springs from the Iranian habit of procrastination, but the Emam Jum'eh for one has explained his opposition to the idea largely on the grounds that Prince Ghulam Reza is a rather stupid young man who, as heir presumptive, might easily be made a centre of intrigue against the Shah. He also fears that, now that the idea is in the air, Prince Abd-ur-Reza, who is cleverer than his elder brother and has been canvassing his claim to the succession for some time, may intensify his intrigues.

6. There is some independent ground for believing that the Shah is no longer hopeful that Queen Suraya will produce an heir, but, if she continues to have as much personal hold over him as at present, it seems unlikely that he will divorce her and remarry in the hope of having a son. There is, therefore, much to be said for his taking the precaution of naming a successor. Prince Ghulam Reza is certainly neither energetic nor intelligent and, if he were to become Shah one day, much would depend on the hands into which he fell. As the heir presumptive he might well become a centre of intrigue but he would almost certainly be less

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dangerous in the part than Prince Abd-ur-Reza, who is generally considered to be corrupt as well as ambitious.

7. It is impossible to tell whether the Shah's recent move is an indication of serious intent or largely a tactical manoeuvre in the intrigues of the Court. We should, however, be prepared for his nominating Prince Ghulam Reza at some suitable opportunity. A possible occasion which has been mentioned is the opening of the next Majles in 1956.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

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No. 25

REPLACEMENT OF IRANIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received December 31)

(No. 148. Confidential)

Tehran,

December 28, 1955.

Sir,
I have the honour to report that on the 24th of December it was announced that Dr. Ali Quli Ardalan (No. 16 in the "Leading Personalities in Iran") had been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the place of Mr. Abdullah Entezam (Personality No. 41). It is reported in the press, apparently on official inspiration, that Mr. Entezam has been appointed Deputy Prime Minister, a post which he held for about six weeks in April and May 1955, when Mr. Ala, the Prime Minister, was in Paris undergoing an operation.

2. Dr. Ardalan is an excellent linguist and appears friendly to the United Kingdom. Since leaving the Iranian delegation to the United Nations, he held no official position except that of member of the High Political Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until a little over a month ago. Then, when the former Ministry of National Economy was divided into two parts, the present Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Industry and Mines, Dr. Ardalan was appointed Minister of Industry and Mines. There is insufficient recent experience of his ability for me yet to form a considered opinion of him; but to judge from his past record and from what little I have seen of him he is of a higher calibre than the average Iranian Minister.

3. As you know, Sir, Mr. Entezam has been away from Tehran, for medical reasons, for six months, except for a brief return lasting ten days during the visit of the President of Turkey to this country in September 1955. Latterly he has appeared to put his desire to continue his medical treatment in Paris and, it is reported, to marry a woman of Moroccan origin above his duty to his Ministry, which has certainly suffered by his prolonged absence and from lack of ministerial guidance at the top. In his favour it must, however, be said that he has been genuinely ill, but that nevertheless the Shah was reluctant to appoint somebody in his place until, after six months, it was clear that he was not ready to return in the near future.

4. Whatever Mr. Entezam's recent failings may have been there is no doubt that he is, or was, a man of considerable imagination and ability. The resumption of relations with the United Kingdom at the end of 1953 and the conclusion of the oil agreement in 1954 owe not a little to him and to his friendship and close collaboration with Dr. Amini, recently appointed as Iranian Ambassador to Washington. Mr. Entezam's major contribution to recent Iranian foreign policy has been the attempt to settle outstanding differences and establish good relations with Iran's geographical neighbours. This policy bore considerable fruit resulting in an agreement on frontier demarcation and financial affairs with the U.S.S.R. which entered into force in May 1955, and various agreements, including the settlement of minor frontier differences with Turkey. A start has been made in settling frontier problems, particularly those relating to the movement of migrant tribes from one side of the border to another, with Iraq. Frontier negotiations are shortly to start between Iran and Pakistan and are expected to be settled quickly. It is also hoped that negotiations may begin soon in Washington between Afghanistan and Iran about the Helmand River dispute; the Iranian delegation is ready to leave but the Afghans are holding back.

5. It is to be hoped that Dr. Ardalan will continue with this policy which is useful for Iran and in so far as it eliminates possible points of friction with Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan, important for the smooth working of the Bagdad Pact. There have been differing views about Mr. Entezam's attitude to Iranian adherence to the pact; I think that he favoured adherence in principle but did not think that the time was ripe in October 1955. He was reported to have been unenthusiastic about adherence when he was in Tehran during the Turkish visit, but his close friend, Dr. Amini, subsequently emerged as one of the strongest proponents of immediate adherence.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Ankara, Bagdad, Kabul and Washington; to the Political Officer with the Middle East Forces; and to the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Karachi.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

EP 1015/1

No. 26

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAN

Sir Roger Stevens to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received January 9)

(No. 150. Secret)

Tehran.

December 31, 1955.

Sir,

My return to Iran in December after nearly five months' absence provides an occasion for analysing the present state of affairs in this country against the factual background contained in my annual report (my despatch No. 1 of January 1, 1956).

2. I propose to consider firstly the reasons for the present halting progress towards internal reform, secondly the nature and implications of the apathy and, in places, dissatisfaction which prevail and, thirdly, what, if anything, we in conjunction with the Americans can do about it.

3. The lack of solid achievement on the domestic front is not due to the absence of good intentions on the part of the Government or the Shah. They have plenty of general ideas about reforms; even if these relate mainly to symptoms of the economic plight of the masses and general inequality, there are at any rate enough of them to keep any Government busy for many a day. The difficulty has been to translate even these good intentions into action. There has been a tendency, largely due to inexperience, to proclaim too many objectives at once rather than concentrate on what is practicable. Bright ideas are produced without any preparation and then dropped when they encounter obstacles. For this the Shah himself, with his increasing disposition to direct in detail the work of administration, is largely to blame, though a stronger and more experienced Government could no doubt act as a more effective sieve.

4. On the other hand it must be admitted that the difficulties in the way of getting things done in this country are enough to reduce even the most experienced of administrations to impotence. There is the almost total absence of a trained or capable Civil Service. The result is that Ministers try to do too much themselves and, unless they are of exceptional physique, wear themselves out after a few months in office. There is the strong strain of individualism in the Iranian character, which makes orderly administrative team work, tax collecting or the consistent execution of any policy extremely difficult. There is the almost total absence of any civic or social conscience on the part of the well-to-do, which ensures that their attitude to any reform will be decided exclusively by its effect on their pockets rather than on the country as a whole. Without the discipline of any semblance of a party system, it is difficult to count on consistent support from any influential quarter. All these strains converge in Parliament, which is lacking in initiative, unruly, destructively critical, barely representative, and at the same time highly jealous of its rights.

5. I do not suggest that these conditions are immutable, but clearly it will be necessary to live with them, or with something like them, for a long time. Given that this is the case, it is pertinent to ask at the outset what is the best kind of Government for the country: an autocracy of some kind, a constitutional monarchy, or a republic. There is no ideal answer to these questions; we have to consider what is practicable. Differing views have been expressed on the subject in correspondence with your predecessors, Sir, in the course of 1955. In his despatch No. 23 of February 12, Sir Anthony Eden recognised that "comparatively autocratic government by the Shah and his nominees is likely, for years to come, to be the form of administration best suited to Persia's present needs." Mr. Wright, in his despatch No. 84 of August 3, said, *inter alia*: "I think we must acknowledge clearly to ourselves once and for all that the Shah himself cannot provide a firm hand on affairs. . . . I cannot disagree with the ever-growing feeling that because of his weaknesses the present Shah must be taught, and the force of events seems to be the only teacher he understands, to satisfy himself with the role of a constitutional monarch on something like modern European lines."

6. I must confess that it is rather to the first than to the second of these opinions that I myself subscribe. Things as they are must be our point of departure in any flight of imagination towards the desirable. It is not possible

to think seriously of disposing of the Shah altogether as an inspiring objective. There is no heir to the throne who would be better or indeed half as good; and Iran as a republic would be horrible to contemplate. In governing a country such as this, a strong initiative must come from somewhere if anything is to get done. As long as Mohammed Reza Pahlevi is on the throne in his present mood, it is difficult to imagine that he will yield the initiative to anyone else. This being so, it seems to me that the best we can hope for with the material available is for the Shah to be mainly responsible for giving an intelligent lead, with the Government serving as efficient though not always uncritical executants of his policy. I do not pretend that this is being achieved at the moment. But, with better advice and a more discriminating attitude towards such advice as he does get, the Shah's "energising" role could be much improved; in particular, his tendency to engage in direct action, e.g., by using one of the Royal Charities to distribute pharmaceutical products or the army for inspecting department operations, could be restrained. But it is only through experience and trial and error (here I most cordially agree with Mr. Wright) that the Shah can be expected to learn to rule more wisely and govern less directly. He certainly will not do so because we or the Americans tell him in principle that he should, nor can we ever expect him to be a genuinely constitutional monarch, nor if he were would the country, in my opinion, run better than it does at the moment; probably a good deal worse if there were constant changes of Government—the Shah at least provides continuity. The best we can hope is that he will with experience develop greater skill in administration and that his autocracy will be a little less naked in appearance. I do not deny for a moment that there are great risks in this, the first and foremost being that his present policies are making him, and to some extent the institution of monarchy, the object of strong criticism which one day might explode. On the other hand, if and when the Shah's policy begins to show results, criticisms will inevitably diminish. On the whole I am inclined to think that the active part which the Shah plays in initiating policy and in trying, however imperfectly, to get things done is to be applauded rather than to be deplored. At the very least, I fail to see any clear alternative in which more things would be likely to get done better.

7. The next question is whether the present Government can be regarded as efficient executants of his policy. A more forceful Prime Minister could hold his team together better and co-ordinate more effectively; on the other hand, he would be much more likely to fall foul of the Shah. Moreover, all present candidates would, to my mind, have other disadvantages. Sayyid Zia is an idealist lacking in recent administrative experience; Dr. Egbal, an egotist whose readiness to devote himself unsparingly to his country's service is questionable; Dr. Amini would not be trusted by the Shah, and it is not certain that he would have his heart in financial reforms. The rest are smaller fry. As for the departmental Ministers, some of them are not up to their jobs and could with advantage be changed, but taken as a whole they look to me to be above the Iranian average in industry, honesty and technical competence; and their ineffectiveness is due in some instances to lack of funds, interference from above, lack of co-ordination and consequent frustration. My conclusion is that, while the present Government is certainly not ideal, it would be difficult to find one that could be counted on in advance to be demonstrably better.

8. There is, however, no escaping the fact that, at least in the urban and parliamentary circles with which we have contact, there is dissatisfaction with the way the country is at present being run and with the people who are running it. This stems, I think, from a variety of causes. The rich feel that they are threatened with a soaking, and regard certain elements in the present Government as Socialistic. Leading political figures not in the Government are angling for power. Reformers point to the fact that internal reforms are lagging. The mullahs are disappointed that they have not succeeded in reasserting their authority. Government officials are afraid of losing their jobs (especially the numerous sinecure holders who collectively are such a drain on the exchequer) and the people as a whole suffer from the high (though now fairly stable) cost of living. Everyone, therefore, is anxious and uneasy about the future, but different groups have conflicting ideas as to what the future should be. At the moment, the result is apathy rather than organised or active protest. It is a state of mind which, given the explosive nature of the Iranian character, might in the face of some incident

or provocation be mobilised and put to dangerous uses. In the absence of such provocation, however, the chances are that the apathy will continue to take an inactive form at least for some time. Moreover, since the reasons for dissatisfaction are so varied, it is possible that any real sign of progress with economic development or internal reform will remove its cause in the case of some groups, even if it strengthens it in the case of others.

9. I come finally to the part which we may be able to play in helping to make things better. We can and clearly should give every encouragement to the Shah and the Government to pursue and make effective and thorough their plans for reform. Our new treaty relationship seems to me to give us an excuse for keeping up the pressure more vigorously than before. But we must, I suggest, avoid doing it in a patronising way. If I am right in thinking that the cancer which gnaws at the root of every human and official relationship in this country is lack of confidence, then it follows that lack of self-confidence is one of the causes of Iran's present discontent. We must, if we can, show these people that we believe they have it in them to do things for themselves and to stand on their own feet. Even so, there is a limit to what can be done by way of general exhortation. I have already pointed out that there is no lack of good intentions, and our aim should be not so much to reinforce these intentions as to apply them more wisely and effectively. It is when we come to consider how this might be done that the difficulties begin.

10. It will be clear from what I have said earlier that I do not favour recommending to the Shah any change of Government. I do not think we could point in specific terms to a change for the better, and even if we could I do not believe we should be well advised to do so unless the situation were a good deal more desperate than I think it is. I would not wish to discourage the Shah from changing individual Ministers if he had any better ones in mind; but even here I believe we should be very cautious in volunteering advice.

11. If we can make specific suggestions without getting embroiled—and this must in my judgment remain the acid test of anything that we do—they should, I believe, be directed at measures rather than men. I do not underestimate either the difficulty or the delicacy of acting on these lines, particularly if we are to touch on what I consider to be the two major long-term needs in Iran, hitherto largely neglected, namely, a new deal for agriculture and an attack on the inflation which development will bring in its train. It would call for a very detailed appreciation of what is at present being attempted, a thorough understanding of the forces at work in the country, and a nice sense of timing. Nevertheless, I think we should be on the look-out for opportunities. It is useful to know that the Americans, in connection with the Iranian demand for budgetary aid, have recently been offering small but specific pieces of advice. They have, for example, suggested informally that civil servants should be pensioned off at 65, and that the price of petrol for private cars should be increased as part of the austerity campaign and in order to help N.I.O.C. out of the red. They are at the moment in a better position to say these things (and they are admittedly only pinpricks) than we are, but unless you see objection I propose, as occasion offers, to give the Americans discreet support to watch the consequences of their efforts and to examine the situation to see whether there are other suggestions which might forward healthy progress towards reform, help the Government to counter charges of inactivity and on which we could work together. The American aim is rather different from ours, viz., to prove to the United States Administration that the Iranian Government is doing something and hence to improve the chances of budgetary assistance. But this in turn would help and even transform the internal situation, and if in the process measures useful in themselves can be initiated from the Iranian side, so much the better.

12. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Ankara, Bagdad, Karachi and Washington and to P.O.M.E.F.

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EP 1012/1

No. 27

REPORT ON LEADING PERSONALITIES IN PERSIA, 1954

Sir Roger Stevens to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 28)

(No. 11. Confidential) *Tehran,*
January 20, 1955.

Sir,
 With reference to Mr. Middleton's despatch No. 256 of August 11, 1952, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a list of personalities in Persia, revised to the end of 1954. I regret that it has not been possible to transmit the list earlier owing to pressure of other work and to the need for re-editing and for bringing the biographies up to date after an interval of over two years.

2. As previously agreed, the Persian short "e" sound is now represented in transliteration by the letter "e"; the transliteration of the long "e" sound remains "i." To help in distinguishing between the two "a" sounds, the broad "a" sound has been represented thus: "ā."

I have, &c.

R. B. STEVENS.

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138. Qubādīān, 'Abbās (Amir Maksus).
139. Quds (Nakhā'i), Husain.
140. Rādmānesh, Dr. Rezā.
141. Rahnamā, Zain-ul-'Abidin.
142. Rā'is, Muhsen.
143. Rustā, Rezā.
144. Sadiq, Dr. 'Isā (Sadiq-e-A'lam).
145. Sadr, Sayyed Muhsen (Sadr-ul-Ashraf).
146. Sa'ed (Marāgheh), Muhammad (Sā'ed-ul-Vezāreh).
147. Sajjādi, Dr. Muhammad.
148. Sāleh, Allāhyār.

149. Sāleh, Dr. Jahānshāh.
- Sādār Fākher (see Hekmat, Rezā).
- Sārem-ud-Dauleh (see Mas'ud, Akbar).
150. Sayyāh, Hamid.
151. Sayyāh, Kāzem.
- Sayyed Ziā [-ud-Din] (see Tabātābā'i).
152. Sepahbudi, Anushirvān.
153. Sepehr, Ahmad 'Alī (Muvarekh-ud-Dauleh).
154. Shahbakhti, Muhammad, General (*Sepahbud*).
155. Shāhrukh, Bahrām.
156. Shams-e-Mulk Arā, Asodullāh (Shahāb-us-Dauleh), K.C.V.O.
157. Shā'yegan, Dr. Sayyed 'Alī.
158. Siāsī, Dr. 'Alī Akbar.
159. Suhaili, 'Alī.
160. Sururi, Muhammad.
161. Tabā, Dr. 'Abdul Husain.
162. Tabātābā'i, Sayyed Muhammad Sādeq.
163. Tabātābā'i, Sayyed Ziā-ud-Din.
164. Tāheri, Dr. Hādī.
165. Taqizādeh, Sayyed Hasan.
166. Tehrani, Sayyed Jalal-ud-Din.
167. Vakili, 'Alī.
168. Vāllātabār, Abul-Fath, K.B.E. (Heshmat-ud-Dauleh).
169. Vārasiel, Muhammad 'Alī.
170. Yazdān Panāh, Murtezā, General (*Sepahbud*).
171. Yazdi, Dr. Murtezā.
172. Zāhedi, Fazlullāh (Basir-e-Divān), Major-General (*Sarlashgar*).
173. Zand, Ebrāhīm.
174. Zanganeh, Dr. Ahmad Ebrāhīm.
175. Zarin-Kafsh, 'Alī Asghar.
176. Zirakzādeh, Engineer Ahmad.

Pahlavi, Muhammad Rezā Shāh

The eldest son of Reza Shah by the daughter of Taimur Khan; this lady was the ex-Shah's chief consort and known as the *Malekeh* (Queen). Now known as the Queen Mother she is still active in Court intrigues.

Born on October 26, 1919, and proclaimed *Vālihd*, or heir-apparent, on January 1, 1926. Educated in Tehran under tutors at first, and then in Switzerland at La Rosay, under the direction of Dr. Mu'adab Nafisi. Returned to Persia in the spring of 1936. Speaks excellent French and English.

Betrothed in June 1938 and married Princess Fauzieh, sister of King Farouk of Egypt at Cairo on March 15, 1939. The marriage was preceded by a very pompous journey through Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The principal wedding festivities took place in Tehran in April, on the couple's arrival, and were attended by distinguished delegations from many countries. The only offspring is one daughter, Shahnaz, born in 1940, and now being educated in Belgium. Queen Fauzieh left for Egypt in 1943 and never returned. Her divorce by mutual consent from the Shah was announced on November 19, 1948, and attributed to the fact that her health did not permit her to live in Persia.

On October 11, 1950, he was betrothed to Miss Suraya Efsandiari, the 18-year-old daughter of a minor Bakhtiari khan and a German mother. The marriage, postponed because of the bride's ill-health, took place on February 12, 1951. There has so far been no issue.

Muhammad Reza succeeded to the throne when his father, who was very fond of him but had kept him very much under his thumb, abdicated in September 1941. From the first he took a considerable part in public affairs and he showed an unmistakable sign of his intention to exert his influence in State matters when in 1946 he conceived a strong antipathy to Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Eventually it was due to his active intervention that Qavam fell from power at the end of 1947.

His private visit to Britain in July 1948 was a considerable success and he created a good impression.

On February 4 (15 Bahman), 1949, an attempt was made on the Shah's life. His escape was miraculous and created a profound impression. The Shah's bearing on this occasion greatly enhanced his prestige. He then decided to introduce the constitutional reforms, including the formation of the Senate, which he had been contemplating for over a year and in which he considered the primary remedy for the country's deplorable condition, and the Constituent Assembly, in May 1949 granted him the right to dissolve either Chamber.

In November 1949 the Shah left for a visit to the United States which lasted for six weeks. From March 1-16, 1950, he visited Pakistan. An event of great personal importance to himself took place in May 1950 when, in an impressive ceremony, he attended the re-burial of his father, Reza Shah, in a mausoleum especially constructed at the shrine of Shah 'Abdul 'Azim at Rey, near Tehran.

An official visit to Jordan, planned for April 1951 returning King Abdullah's visit of July-August 1949 was postponed at the last minute because the Shah had an attack of appendicitis for which he was successfully operated on.

During the Musaddeq régime the Shah showed himself irresolute and timid, and allowed Musaddeq to build himself up at the Shah's expense. In July 1952, after Musaddeq had resigned and been replaced by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, it was primarily the Shah's refusal to agree to the latter's proposal to dissolve the Majles, and his withdrawal of the troops from Tehran, which led to Qavam's resignation after two days in office, and to Musaddeq's triumphal return. In late February 1953 the Shah was on the point of leaving the country but was dissuaded from doing so by a popular demonstration in his favour. From this time his position *vis-à-vis* Musaddeq became steadily weaker and he was increasingly attacked and ridiculed in the pro-Musaddeq press. However, in August 1953 he did nominate Zāhedi to replace Musaddeq, but when Zāhedi's *coup d'Etat* (Musaddeq having refused to resign) failed the Shah fled the country. A day or two later (August 19) a popular uprising overthrew Musaddeq and the Shah returned soon afterwards to be greeted with great national enthusiasm.

On December 5, 1954, the Shah and Queen Suraya left for a two-months' visit and holiday in the United States, to be followed by visits to the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe.

The Shah is clever and well-informed: he takes his duties seriously and is genuinely anxious to do his best for the country. He suffers, however, from a surfeit of advice, listens too easily to all comers, of whatever quality, but at the same time mistrusts many of his advisers. He is now less susceptible to the influence of his twin sister, Princess Ashraf, and to that of his mother, who makes a practice of comparing him unfavourably with his autocratic father. He is, however, in personal matters (e.g., the tour of the United States and Europe in the winter of 1954-55) strongly influenced by Queen Suraya to whose every whim he seems willing to pander. He is a keen all-round sportsman and a good amateur pilot. He is also a very hard worker. He has a lively apprehension of Soviet designs, and is convinced of the need for collaboration with the West. Although he probably still regards the British as wiser than the Americans, he attributed his father's fate to the British and in his heart still suspects our intentions. His fear that the British might one day bring about his removal from the throne may have diminished somewhat.

He is still to some extent torn between a partiality for liberal institutions and methods, which is no

doubt the produce of his Swiss education, and an ardent desire to transform the economic and social conditions of this corrupt and backward country. Since Musaddeq's overthrow the Shah's self-confidence has grown noticeably and there are signs that he is learning how to impose his will (e.g., over the oil settlement and his trip to the United States in December 1954) and may be tempted to adopt a more autocratic attitude generally.

The Pahlavi Royal Family

The following are recognised members of the Pahlavi Royal Family:—

Princes

(i) Shāhpur (Prince) Ghulām Rezā

Born April 13, 1923.

He was married in January 1948 to Huma A'lam, daughter of Dr. A'lam and granddaughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh, and divorced her in 1954. There is one son of this marriage. Made a second lieutenant in the army in 1947 after passing out from the Officers' Training College in Tehran. Went on a cavalry course in France, July-October 1949. Now holds the title of Inspector of the Army. Has, apparently, an amiable disposition but is generally regarded as stupid.

(ii) Shāhpur 'Abdur Rezā

Born August 19, 1924.

He returned to Tehran in January 1948 after several years at Harvard University. Went to United States again in 1948 for medical treatment but returned to Persia on the passage of the Bill relating to the Seven-Year Plan Organisation for which he was appointed honorary president, May 1949.

Began his military training at the Officers' School at Tehran, May 1950, and has since taken less interest in the Seven-Year Plan. Soon fell out with Abul Hasan Eftehaj, on the latter's appointment as Director-General of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation in 1954.

Rather better educated than the Shah's other brothers but intellectually not in the same class as the Shah himself. Polite and sociable but likes money and is not averse to receiving it. He and the Shah dislike and distrust each other—Prince Abdur is constantly suspected of intriguing against the Shah. Married Pari Sima, daughter of Ebrahim Zand and divorced from previous husband, Engineer Hushang Afshar, October 12, 1950.

Son born in March 1952.

(iii) Shāhpur Ahmad Rezā

Born September 17, 1925.

Mentally not normal. Married to Siniā Bahrami of Tehran, who bore him a daughter, March 10, 1949. Divorced his wife in 1954.

(iv) Shāhpur Mahmud Rezā

Born October 3, 1926.

Educated in the United States at Michigan University where he is reported to have worked hard at a course in industrial economics. Returned to Tehran, November 1950. Pleasant and is quite well spoken of.

(v) Shāhpur Hamid Rezā

Born July 4, 1932.

An unruly boy, who three times ran away from school in the United States. Finished his schooling in 1948 and is now in Tehran.

Married Minu Daulatshahi, March 15, 1951, and divorced her in 1954. There is one son and one daughter of this marriage.

Unreliable and too fond of money.

Princesses

(i) **Shāhdokht (Princess) Shams**

Born October 18, 1917.

Married first Feraidun, son of Mahmud Jam, and later divorced him; then Mehrdad Pahlbud, an amiable creature of cultivated tastes and artistic inclinations, by whom she has two sons and one daughter.

The Princess is president of the Red Lion and Sun Society (equivalent of the Red Cross). Has travelled in the United States and also, in 1949, in Europe, seeing hospital and welfare work.

Conveyed the Shah's proposal of marriage to Suraya and brought her back to Tehran from Paris, October 7, 1950, but is no longer on good terms with her.

With her husband, whose father was a musician, she makes a serious and creditable attempt to act as a patron of the arts and of charity. Shy and very taken up with her children and plays little part in Palace intrigues compared with her sister or brothers.

(ii) **Shāhdokht Ashraf**

Born October 24, 1919, a twin sister of the Shah and seems to have inherited more of her father's characteristics than her brother.

Married, first, 1937, Ali Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk, divorced 1942; one son, Shah-Ram; then Ahmad Shafiq, an energetic Egyptian of good family, who amongst other things has been Director of Civil Aviation. By him she has one son (born 1948) and a daughter (born 1950).

The Princess visited Moscow in 1946 and the United States and United Kingdom in 1947 to study social welfare organisations. Visited India and Pakistan in November 1948 and Europe November 1949–February 1950. When in Persia she plays an active part in social and charitable work.

Much criticised for interference in political and administrative matters. The Shah was obliged by Musaddeq to send her away and she left for Switzerland in September 1951. Returned to Tehran July 1952 and left again with her family for Europe on August 2, 1952, after the short-lived Premiership of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Returned a few days before Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953 but the Shah did not approve and she left again almost immediately. Came back for a few months in January 1954 and again in late October on Prince Ali Reza's death. Since then seems to be settling down in Tehran again.

She was violently anti-Musaddeq and a supporter of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. She is very critical of the Shah's weakness and with her mother tends to make Queen Suraya's life difficult.

(iii) **Shāhdokht Fātemeh**

Born October 30, 1929.

Went to school in the United States. Returned to Tehran 1948. Accompanied Princess Shams to the United States again May 1949 and there married an American student, Vincent Lee (now known as Ali) Hillyer, April 1950, without the Shah's permission. Deprived of Royal prerogatives, but on remarrying by Moslem rites was apparently forgiven. Both arrived in Persia in December 1950 but left again June 1951. Came back again for a few months in September 1953 and again for a short visit in the spring of 1954. They live in California, where her husband is in business.

The following, in addition to the Shah, are the offspring of Reza Shah's first wife, the present Queen Mother:—

Princess Shams.

Princess Ashraf.

Prince Ali Reza (died 1954).

Reza Shah's second wife was Malekeh Turān Daulatshahi, who was of Qajar stock on her father's side. She bore Ghulam Reza, but was divorced after three months. (In 1942 she married a Tehran merchant named Zabihullah Malekpur.)

Reza Shah's third wife was Esmat-ul-Mulk, a Qajar Princess of the Daulatshahi family. She bore him four sons and a daughter, viz.:—

Prince 'Abdur Reza.

Prince Ahmad Reza.

Prince Mahmud Reza.

Prince Hamid Reza.

Princess Fātemeh.

There is also a daughter, Hamdam-us-Saltaneh, who appeared at Court during 1950 and who has been granted the title of Her Royal Highness. She is the offspring of an earlier wife of Reza Shah who was divorced before he married the Queen Mother. This daughter first married Colonel Atabak, Master of the Stables, and secondly Dr. Amir Aslani from whom she has also been divorced.

Prince 'Ali Reza, Reza Shah's second son who was killed in an air accident in October 1954 left a son, 'Ali, born in 1947. His mother is of Polish origin and her marriage to Prince 'Ali Reza was not officially recognised. It is still not clear whether the boy is in any way recognised as a member of the Royal Family.

1. **Adham, Dr. 'Abbās (Alam-ul-Mulk)**

Born in 1882, son of Mirza Zain-ul-Abidin Khan (Luqman-ul-Mamalek). A native of Azarbaijan. Educated in Persia and at Paris University where he studied medicine. Did post-graduate work in France.

Minister of Health under Hazhir in June 1948 and again under Sa'ed, March 1949, to April 1950.

Was previously head of the School of Medicine in Tehran and of the Razi Hospital. He is also a court physician. Speaks French and Turki.

2. **Adham, Dr. Hasan (Hakim-ud-Daulah)**

Brother of Dr. Abbas Adham. Obtained a medical degree in France and speaks French.

Was a Deputy for Tehran in 13th Majles. A member of Tehran Municipal Council, August 1943. Chairman of Electoral Supervising Committee for re-held 16th Majles elections in Tehran, January 1950. Minister of Health under Musaddeq, May to September 1951. Then Minister without Portfolio until March 1952 when he became President of the Supervisory Committee for the 17th Majles elections. Soon resigned from this and resumed his private practice.

3. **'Adl, Ahmad Husain**

Born in Tabriz c. 1895, son of the late 'Adl-ul-Mulk. Educated partly in France.

Minister of Agriculture from March 1942 until February 1943 showing himself friendly and helpful. He was then tried in the Officials' Court on charges of misappropriation of funds but was acquitted. Appointed to the Supreme Economic Council in April 1945. Became Minister of Agriculture in November that year and again under Qavam in June 1947. Chairman of the Provisional Organisation of the Seven-Year Plan in January 1949, until May 1949 when he was appointed a member of the Supreme Council of the Plan. He was successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Chairman of High Council of Seven-Year Plan, April 1950. Held this post throughout the Musaddeq régime. In August 1953 appointed

Minister of Agriculture under General Zakedi. Also temporarily in charge of the Seven-Year Plan, July–September, 1954.

Well versed in agricultural affairs but has a strong reputation for dishonesty in spite of his riches. Speaks French and a little English.

4. **'Adl, Engineer Majid**

Born c. 1911. Brother of Ahmad Husain 'Adl. Director of Karaj Agricultural College during Russian occupation (1943–45). Subsequently head of Animal Husbandry Department of Ministry of Agriculture. Then first Director of Animal Husbandry Institute (from early 1950), which he is organising on progressive lines. Keenly interested in his work and, although not really forceful, can be surprisingly determined; engaging personality.

Educated in France but speaks fair English and favours British methods. Very friendly and co-operated well with B.M.E.O. experts in pre-Musaddeq times.

5. **Afshār, Rezā**

Born at Urumich (now Reza'iyyeh) about 1888. Joined the Ministry of Finance as a young man, and during Mirza Kuchik Khan's rebellion in Gilan acted as financial agent to him. Served also under Sir, P. Cox, who paid him well. Soon after the war he got away with certain funds from the Finance Office in Resht. With these he bought carpets and took them to America for sale. Returned to Persia in 1921, full of American ideas and education. Joined the staff of Dr. Millspaugh, the American financial adviser. A staunch supporter of the Pahlavi régime; elected to the 5th, 6th and 7th Majles. Governor of Gilan in 1929. While at that post he organised the Gilan Import and Export Company, which was founded in opposition to Russian trade monopoly methods. As a result he incurred the hostility of the Russian interests there. Governor-General of Kerman in 1931. Minister of Roads in February 1932. Resigned in the following July, being unable to build the Chalus road fast enough for the Shah. Governor of Isfahan September 1932 to December 1933. Was put under surveillance in Tehran in 1935 owing to supposed inefficiency (perhaps complicity) in connexion with the Bakhtiari plots in 1934. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment and permanent exclusion from Government service in June 1936 for accepting a bribe when Minister of Roads.

Governor-General of Isfahan, May–June 1944, until Supreme Court of Appeal decided he was ineligible for office because of his conviction in 1936. Secretary to the Iranian Airways, December 1944, now managing director. Deputy for Reza'iyyeh in 16th Majles but his credentials were queried and he was replaced by Muhsen Afshar. Deputy for Tabriz in 18th Majles.

Speaks English fluently. Full of ideas and energy. An opportunist.

6. **'Alā, Husain, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vezareh)**

Born about 1884. Son of the late Prince Ala-us-Saltaneh, for many years Persian Minister in London. Educated at Westminster School, where he seems to have received rough treatment which resulted in an anti-British bias, at any rate for the next few years. Created C.M.G. in 1902, when he accompanied his father on a special mission to London for the Coronation of King Edward VII. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1906, his father being then Minister. He remained as "chef de Cabinet" to various Ministers until 1915. Appointed Minister of Public Works in January 1918 and continued to

direct that Ministry during the Cabinet of Sansen-us-Saltaneh, which was in power from May to August 1918 and abrogated the Treaty of Turkmanchal.

After accompanying the abortive Persian mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918 he became Minister at Madrid (1919) and then at Washington (1920). Returning to Persia in 1925 he alternated office at home with headship of missions abroad, being Minister at Paris 1929 to 1933 and at London 1934 to 1936. President of the National Bank in 1941 and Minister of Court 1942.

Appointed Ambassador to Washington in August 1945 when status of Persian Legation there was raised to that of an Embassy. Was very active in giving publicity in the United States to the Persian case over the Azarbaijan problem and showed ability presenting Persia's case to the Security Council in March and April 1946.

Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by Sa'ed in February 1950 and continued under Mansur in April 1950 resigning with him in June 1950.

Minister of Court, February 1951. Appointed Prime Minister following assassination of Razmara, March 1951, but resigned on April 27, 1951, because of preparation by the Majles Oil Commission of the Oil Nationalisation Bill without reference to him. Remains Minister of Court. Used his influence at Court in favour of retaining Musaddeq as Prime Minister until as late as March 1953.

Married Fātemeh Khanum, the only daughter of the late Abul Qasem Khan Qaraguzlu (Naser-ul-Mulk), Regent of Persia, in July 1927. Mme. Ala was one of the first of her generation to leave off the veil.

A hard worker and a patriot; intelligent and well-read, but in internal politics indecisive and chameleon-like; interested in the literature of many countries and quite a good pianist. Has a perfect command of English and speaks good French. Whatever his feelings towards us, he seems to have a high regard for British education. His son went to Harrow and is now (1954) at Edinburgh University.

7. **'Alam Asadullāh**

Born c. 1920. Son of the late Shaukat-ul-Mulk, who was hereditary Khan of Birjand and the Qa'emat, he has inherited much of his father's influence over the Baluchi tribes of East Persia. In 1947 appointed Governor-General of Persian Baluchistan, in which post he showed commendable energy and efficiency. Deputy for Birjand in the Constituent Assembly, 1949. Left Baluchistan to become Minister of the Interior under Sa'ed, January 1950. In the Cabinet reshuffle of February he was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture. Continued in this post under Mansur, April 1950, with whom he resigned, June 1950. Minister of Labour under Razmara until his assassination in March 1951. While Minister of Labour assisted in the formation of a central organisation to unify the rival non-Communist trade union federations and co-ordinate their activities. Had previously been engaged in drawing up a report on the Shah's lands and when the Shah decided to distribute the Pahlavi Foundation lands in January 1951 he became a member of the Commission supervising this work and is now largely in charge of it. A close personal friend of the Shah. His position at Court was resented by Musaddeq who virtually forced the Shah to rusticate him to Birjand in November 1952.

Friendly, intelligent and helpful, but timorous; and his service at Court seems to be beginning to spoil him. Married to a daughter of Qavam-ul-Mulk. Speaks good English and French.

8. 'Alavi, Dr. Hasan

Born 1910 in Shiraz. Studied medicine in Bombay and London where he held post of ophthalmic surgeon at St. Thomas's and other English hospitals. He was recalled to Persia by Reza Shah in 1938 and appointed Court Physician and consulting specialist to the Persian army. In March 1947 he was promoted to brigadier (honorary).

Hard-working and a patriot; intelligent and well-read with an almost perfect command of English. A sensitive and serious-minded Persian Nationalist who deprecates the failings, especially peculation, of his countrymen. A great admirer of British institutions, he helped to found the United Kingdom Universities' Society of the then Anglo-Persian Institute. Has a considerable private practice and is commonly acknowledged to be the best ophthalmic surgeon in Persia.

A friend of the Shah, it was on his insistence, he says, that he stood for Bushire for which he was elected to the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Deputy for Bushire in 16th Majles. Prominent in the affairs of the Iran group in this Majles. A member of the Majles Oil Commission, he was very helpful in keeping us informed of developments there. He is a staunch supporter of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din.

The abuse heaped on him by the National Front because he did not follow their line in the oil question was more than he could stand and after the passage of the oil nationalisation laws he became inactive politically. He is still disabused with politics.

9. 'Alemi, Dr. Ebrâhim

Born 1909. Graduated Tehran University 1933 and afterwards studied law at Paris University where he qualified as Doctor of Law. Returned to Persia in 1940 and, after completing military service in 1942, became a professor in the Law Faculty of Tehran University. In 1944 was member of the Organisation Committee of the then Ministry of Commerce and Industry and has also been head of legal advisers' committee in the Ministry of Finance. Technical adviser to the Iran Insurance Company and member of the Board of Directors for three years. Helped to draft Persian Labour Law. Minister of Labour under Musaddeq, January 1952, until latter's fall in August 1953. Then gaoled by Zahedi for a few weeks.

Speaks fluent French. Outwardly friendly, but was completely subservient to Musaddeq.

10. 'Ameri, Javâd

Born in Tehran, 1895, from a Semnan family. Educated in Persia, and Paris where he studied law. Entered the service of the Ministry of Justice in 1914, and was for many years assistant to the French judicial adviser attached to the Ministry of Justice. Was a professor in the law school. In 1928 appointed president of the Tribunal of Commerce. President of the court of first instance in Tehran, 1931-34. Director of the Department of Legislation in the Ministry of Justice in 1934. Went to Bagdad with Fathollah Nuri Esfandiari in December 1935 as legal and technical adviser in the abortive negotiations about the frontier, &c., with Iraq. Judicial Counsellor in charge of the Advisory Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1938. Administrative Director-General August 1938 and Under-Secretary January 1939 in that Ministry.

In charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the time of the invasion, 1941. Minister of the Interior in Suhaili's Cabinet, 1942, and later Minister of Justice; in the former post he was a disappointment, in the latter he was more at home but was soon replaced. Elected to the 14th Majles from Semnan,

December 1943. Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh on his mission to Moscow in February 1946. Re-elected to 15th Majles, 1947. Deputy in Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections, autumn 1949. Deputy for Seman in 16th and 17th Majles. Member of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950.

A man of some influence in his capacity as technical adviser on legislation. Having been trained by the French legal advisers here, his ideas of law are somewhat different from those held by British lawyers.

Conscientious and hard-working, with a lawyer's capacity for rapid assimilation of detail. Amiable but weak. Speaks French.

11. Amini, Dr. 'Ali

Fourth son of Muhsen Amini (Ansin-ud-Dauleh). Born at Tehran in 1903. Educated in Persia and in France. Studied law at Paris. Married a daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh. Served for some years in the Customs Administration; in 1936 appointed acting head and in 1939 head of the Customs, remaining until the autumn of that year, when he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance as one of the Minister's assistants.

Secretary to Qavam-us-Saltaneh (his wife's uncle) when Prime Minister in 1942. Sent by the Persian Government to India in 1945 to study the possibilities for developing trade between India and Persia and to examine the foreign exchange control question. Chairman of the board of directors of the Industrial Bank, November 1946. Member of Democrat Party of Iran. Elected to 15th Majles for Tehran. President of Exchange Control Commission in 1949. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Minister of National Economy under Mansur, April 1950, but resigned when the Cabinet began to get into difficulties. Appointed Minister of National Economy by Musaddeq, December 1951 until July, 19, 1952, i.e., Qavam's abortive Premiership, and not re-appointed on Musaddeq's return to power. Appointed Minister of Finance under General Zahedi in August 1953.

Until he became Minister of Finance he was generally regarded as brilliant, but somewhat irresponsible, lacking in courage and slightly corrupt. During his year in office he has proved himself determined, courageous and immensely hard-working. The skill, energy and flexibility which he showed in his conduct of the oil negotiations has won him great esteem with his fellow negotiators. Though he is too quick-witted, glib and impatient to be popular in Parliament, he nevertheless ranks as one of the outstanding members of the Zahedi Government.

Speaks very good French.

12. Amir Ahmadi, Ahmad, General (Sepahbud)

Born in Tehran about 1880. Comes from an Ardebil family, his forbears having emigrated from the Caucasus. Enlisted in the Cossack Brigade in 1899 and received speedy promotion, being a general by 1920. Took a prominent part in operations against the Jangalis in 1919. When the army was reorganised in 1922 he was given the rank of "chief of division" and held successively command in West, North-West and South-West Persia, where he did good work in disarming the tribes up to 1933. Promoted Sepahbud in April 1929. Director of Remounts 1935.

Minister of War in Furughi's Cabinet, which negotiated the Tripartite Treaty in 1942. Military Governor of Tehran in December 1942, when he quickly put a stop to rioting and looting; and then Minister of War under Qavam-us-Saltaneh and

Suhaili. Resigned December 1943. Minister of War in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Resigned July 1947. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948, and Minister of War under Hazhir, June 1948, and again under Sa'ed, November 1948. Went to the United Kingdom for medical treatment September-December 1949. Dropped as Minister of War January 1950; appointed Senator for Tehran February 1950 and again in March 1954.

His accumulated wealth and large properties are said to have satisfied his rapacity. During his periods of Cabinet office was very friendly to us. Not now important politically. Speaks Russian.

13. Amir 'Alâ'i, Shams-ud-Din

Born about 1896. Senior official in the Ministry of Agriculture until his appointment as Acting Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh February 1946. Appointed Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August and again in October 1946. Dropped when the Cabinet was re-formed in June 1947. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949, in which month he also took part with Dr. Musaddeq in the Royal Palace as a protest against the conduct of the 16th Majles elections.

Governor-General, Gilan, February 1951. Minister of Justice under Ala, March-April 1951. Brought in by Musaddeq as Minister of National Economy, May 1951, at the end of which month he was also appointed Acting Governor-General, Khuzistan, and the head of a Governmental mission to take over the A.L.O.C. of which he was a bitter critic. Made Minister of the Interior August 1951. Minister of Justice December 1951, and Minister without Portfolio specially responsible for Khuzistan February-May 1952. Ambassador to Belgium July 1952, until dismissed by Zahedi Government in August 1953. Returned to Persia June 1954.

Quiet little man with few friends. Appears inoffensive and ineffectual but showed some determination and even fanaticism in his dealings with the Oil Company in the summer of 1951. Left-wing tendencies verging on fellow-travelling. Speaks French.

14. Amir-Taimur Kalâli, Muhammad Ebrâhim

Born about 1895. Member of a well-known Khurasan tribe. Educated in Tehran. Elected to the Majles in the time of Reza Shah, and again for Meshed in the 14th Majles election, 1943. Vice-President of the Majles, 1944.

Was on Foundation Committee of Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society, March 1944. In 1945 he showed an inclination to turn to this Embassy for support against Russian pressure.

Arrested August 1946 under Military Law Ordinance. Released after a short detention. Elected Deputy for Meshed in 15th Majles, 1947. Represented Meshed in Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Unsuccessful candidate in 16th Majles elections at Meshed. Minister of Labour under Musaddeq, May to December 1951. Then Minister of Interior and Acting Chief of Police until January 1952, when he resigned to stand as a candidate for the 17th Majles. Unsuccessful. Returned to public life March 1954 as Deputy in 18th Majles for Gumbad.

A rich landowner who smokes opium. A talkative damagogue, fond of working himself into passionate indignation about subjects which he does not understand. Opposed the Tripartite Treaty of 1942 and voted against the 1954 agreement with the oil consortium. Being vain, responds to flattery. Speaks a little French.

15. Ansâri, Abdul Husain Mas'ud

The eldest son of the late Ali Quli Ansari (Mushaver-ul-Maralek). Born 1899. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920. Served for a number of years in Persian Embassy in Moscow as secretary, and his rapid promotion was largely due to his father's influence. Counsellor at Moscow in 1927 and held that post till he was transferred to Tehran in 1931. Head of the Economics Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in September 1933. Went to Germany as a member of the Persian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Head of the Third Political Section (dealing with British affairs) 1936. Head of the Protocol Department November 1937. Consul-General, Delhi, May 1938. Minister to Sweden 1941. Returned to Tehran in 1944 and was appointed Head of the Tripartite Pact Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vice-President of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society March 1945. Transferred to Isfahan October 1947. While Governor-General of Isfahan was markedly friendly to His Majesty's Consul and to British Council there. Not a strong Governor-General, he made no secret of his wish to get back to diplomatic life. His smooth manner and lack of interest in local politics alienated some of the people among whom he worked.

Appointed Ambassador to Kabul March 1949. Governor-General of Fars December 1951-November 1952. Minister at The Hague February 1953-April 1954, and August 1954 appointed Ambassador to Karachi.

Married a Russian in Moscow; the lady was suspected of being a spy but died in Berlin in 1936, leaving a son. Married a Persian in 1937.

Speaks excellent Russian and French, German and English.

16. Arâmesh, Ahmad

Born about 1902. Has held various Government posts. June 1944 was in charge of all Accounts Departments in the Ministry of Finance factories. Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry June 1946—resigned September 1946. Set up the Labour Inspection administration in Khuzistan in June 1946 and became Secretary-General to the Democrat Party of Iran July 1946. Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister October 1946, when he resigned from his party post. Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry late October 1946. Minister of Labour and Propaganda December 1946. In this post was strongly opposed by many of his Cabinet colleagues because of his efforts to collect party funds by irregular means, which he was suspected of turning to his own advantage. His Ministry's programme of social reform was also extremely unpopular with certain Right-wing members of his party.

Omitted when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in June 1947. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Founded, February 1951, a new party, *Melli-yun-e-Demokrat*, restricting the powers of the monarchy, but this has made no headway.

Affable and energetic but garrulous, unreliable, immature and lacking political sense. Speaks fair English and French.

17. Arâsteh, Nâder

Born about 1893, son of a Qajar prince. Governor of Pahlavi in 1928. Deputy-Governor of Azarbaijan in 1930-32. Governor of Khuzistan May 1932-August 1933. Has also served in the Persian Legation in London. Appointed minister to Poland December 1933. Appointed first Persian Minister

to the Argentine, presented his letters in October 1935. Recalled to Tehran October 1936, the post being abolished. In charge of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a short while in 1937. Minister at Berlin August 1937. Accredited also to The Hague in 1939. Recalled from Berlin May 1940. Governor-General of Mazandaran January 1942 and of Gilan January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs November 1944 in Bayat's Government and for Communications under Hakimi in May 1945 and then in Sadr's Cabinet June to November 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Isfahan, May 1946, withdrawn October 1946.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Hazhir June 1948, retained the portfolio under Sa'ed November 1948, but exchanged it for that of Roads in March 1949. Ambassador to Moscow June 1949–August 1954.

Of unimpressive appearance, but friendly and intelligent. Speaks French, English and Russian.

18. Ardalan, Dr. 'Ali Quli

Born about 1900; brother of Amanullah Ardalan. Served mostly under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in various posts from 1922. Secretary at Washington 1932 where he had a dispute with Ghaffar Jalal, the Minister. Counsellor at Vichy after the collapse of France in 1940. Returned to Tehran 1942 and was in charge of the United Kingdom Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for more than a year, fulfilling his duties with efficiency. Counsellor at Ankara 1943. Under-Secretary for Ministry of Foreign Affairs in December 1948. Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs on appointment of Ala February 1950. Head of Persian delegation to U.N. since August 1950.

Very helpful to us when at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speaks English, French and German.

19. Ardalan, Amānullāh (Hāji Ezz-ud-Mamālek)

Born about 1888. Son of Hāji Fakhr-ud-Mulk of Kurdistan. Educated at Tehran. Elected a Deputy to the 2nd Majles through his father's influence. Served first in the Ministry of Finance. An active member of the Democratic Party and elected to the 3rd Majles from Kermanshah. A pro-German during the war of 1914–18, he left Persia for Turkey at that time. After the war he became financial agent for Kerman through bribery, and made a good thing out of the post. Financial agent for Fars 1922–23. A member of the 5th Majles. A close friend of Sulaiman Mirza and the Socialists. Minister of Public Works in Sardar Sepah's Cabinet of October 1923. Resigned April 1924. Again employed under the Ministry of Finance in Kerman and Fars. Governor of Astarabad 1928; of Luristan, &c., in 1932; of Gilan in 1933, and again of Luristan in 1934, of Bushire and the Gulf Ports 1935; and Governor-General of Kerman in May 1936. Recalled in August 1937.

Governor-General of Azarbaijan (West) at the time of the invasion 1941; fled precipitately to Tehran when the Russians advanced, fearing that revenge would be taken on him for various anti-Russian measures which he had been ordered to take. Then Director-General of Ministry of Finance and Governor of Isfahan in 1942. Minister of Public Health in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Minister of Finance in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Commerce and industry in Sa'ed's Cabinet March 1944, but dropped in August 1944. Returned to Cabinet under Bayat in November 1944, resigned April 1945. Minister of Justice in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945 to January 1946. Appointed Minister of Roads and

Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948. Governor-General, Fars, June 1948. Appointed Minister of Finance in Hazhir's Cabinet of June 1948 but declined to leave Fars. Deputy for Sanandaj (Kurdistan) in Constituent Assembly April 1949 and successful in first stage Senate elections there in autumn 1949.

Appointed Minister of the Interior in the reshuffle of Mansur's Cabinet April 1950. Resigned with Mansur, June 1950. Minister of Interior under Razmara, November 1950, until latter's assassination in March 1951. Next appeared as Deputy in 18th Majles for Sanandaj.

Is the sort of professional politician who is always likely to turn up as a candidate for ministerial office. His reputation for honesty is not particularly good, but it is not as bad as some; not a very forceful personality, but knows the ropes. Old friend of Sayyed Muhammad Sadeq Tabataba'i. Observes the fast in Ramazan. Speaks French and a little English.

20. Ardalan, Nāser Quli

Born in Tehran 1896. Brother of Amanullah and Ali Quli Ardalan. Educated at Tehran and in Belgium. Spent a year in London learning English. Returned to Persia 1915 and entered the service of the Ministry of the Interior, where he served for fifteen years, including several periods as Governor of different provinces. Subsequently employed in the National Bank since 1931.

Deputy for Sanandaj in the 14th, 15th and 16th Majles.

A member of Mixed Oil Commission May 1951, and of that body's three-man delegation to Khuzistan June 1951, where he joined the board of N.I.O.C. August 1952. April 1953 Government Inspector at the National Bank. Then Governor-General of Azarbaijan until Musaddeq's fall in August 1953. At present financial adviser to the Ministry of Finance.

Intelligent and capable. More of an official than a politician. Speaks French.

21. Arfa', Hasan, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890, the eldest son of the late Prince Reza Arfa' (Arfa'-ud-Dauleh). Educated in Russia and France. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1907 as secretary to the Persian Consulate at Tiflis. Secretary at the Persian Legation at St. Petersburg in 1908. Joined the gendarmerie in 1911; and has been in the army since then. Commanded the crack cavalry *Pahlavi* Regiment in 1931. Served as military attaché in London for a short time, and was a prominent officer in the new army. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in 1934. In 1935 on the General Staff in charge of a training school. Persian delegate to the Zahedan Conference in 1935, where, no doubt under strict orders, he took an extremely nationalistic and anti-British standpoint.

Officially attended Ataturk's funeral in 1938. Promoted brigadier-general April 1939. Inspector of Cavalry 1942. Commanded the 1st Division 1943.

Appointed Chief of the General Staff December 1945. Worked hard to resist *Tudeh* activities and had some success in organising resistance to the Azarbaijan Democrats and their independent Government of Tabriz. In consequence he incurred enmity of the pro-Russian groups and when Qavam took office in February 1946, with the task of restoring good relations with Russia, Arfa' was at once relieved of his post. Arrested April 1946 by order of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released October 1946. In 1947 started the "Asia Society," aiming at co-operation between Middle East States. Minister of Roads under Ala, April 4–27, 1951.

Speaks French, English, Turkish and Russian. Married to an Englishwoman, *nee* Bewicke. Well read, particularly in history. Patriotic, intelligent and outspoken but at time rather a firebrand. Despite his rather uncertain judgment and temper he might make a come-back as a political soldier. Known to have ambition to become Prime Minister.

22. As'ad, Muhammad Taqi (Amir-e-Jang)

Born about 1906, son of the late Sardar As'ad; a Bakhtiari Khan imprisoned in 1953 with other tribal leaders by Reza Shah, released in September 1941. Owns properties near Dezful from where he was elected Deputy for the 14th Majles. Was from the beginning one of the most loyal supporters of Sayyed Zia. Successful in the first stage Senate elections at Behbahan, autumn 1949. Appointed Senator for Isfahan, March 1954.

Honest, patriotic and much opposed to the spread of Soviet power, but of little influence.

23. Asadi, Salmān

Born about 1896. The eldest son of the late Muhammad Vali Asadi, mutawalli of the shrine at Meshed, who was shot for treason in 1935. Educated at the American College, Tehran; spent a few years also at Cambridge and in London; speaks English. Owing to his father's influence elected to the Majles as member for the 7th and 8th sessions.

Served for a short time in the News Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a translator. In charge of the Department of Propaganda 1941 to March 1942. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Food 1942 and worked hard to ensure the food supply of Tehran with Mr. Sheridan in the famine winter of 1942–43. Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance, and head of the Rice Monopoly April 1944. Member of Economic Section of Qavam's Mission to Moscow February 1946. Appointed chairman of the Industrial Bank October 1946. Minister of Labour June to September 1947. Elected to 15th Majles for Meshed. April 1954 appointed to High Council of Seven-Year Plan.

Well-read and intelligent; but an intriguer. Indiscreet and given to misstatement and flattery. Unreliable and tends to misrepresent one's views.

In recent years has consistently worked for Qavam-us-Saltaneh.

24. Ashrafi, Ghulām Husain

Born about 1890. Close friend of Ali Suhaili's. Director-General, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, September 1943–June 1944, and then Under-Secretary of State in Prime Minister's Office until April 1945, after which he became a member of the National Bank Supervisory Board. Appointed Governor-General, Khurasan, and Deputy Guardian of the Shrine at Meshed in July 1946; was recalled when the two posts were separated in April 1948. Minister of National Economy under Hazhir in September 1948 and again under Sa'ed in November 1949. Dropped January 1950. Since then has held no appointment.

Speaks good French. Amiable but weak; not averse to using his official position for private gain.

25. Azodi, Yadullāh (Amir A'zam)

Born in Tehran about 1890. The son of the late Nusratullah Mirza, and a descendant of Fath Ali Shah. Inherited large estates from his father, all of which were situated in the neighbourhood of Damghan and Shahrud. Educated in Persia; has spent some years in Europe. Wife is a daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh.

Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920. First Secretary of the Persian Legation at Berlin in 1928, and for some time was Chargé d'Affaires there.

"Chef de Personnel" at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1929–30. Counsellor at Washington, 1931, and acted as Chargé d'Affaires there. Minister at Warsaw in March 1933; but recalled to Tehran the following December as the result of some scandal dating from his Washington days. Chief of Passport Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 1935. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry, March 1937 until November 1937. Minister of Roads under Qavam-us-Saltaneh 1942, and did well in that post. Resigned early in 1943 partly owing to accusations of nepotism; appointed Minister to Brazil, and proceeded thither July 1943. Replaced March 1949. Minister to the Argentine August 1950–August 1952. December 1952 Master of Ceremonies at the Court until appointed Minister to Spain May 1954.

Speaks French and German, and usually very helpful and forthcoming. One of the old school with not much influence.

26. Bakhtiār, Abul Qāsem Khān

Born 1915. Son of the late Amir-e-Mufakkhkham. Educated in England. Governor of Kashan 1941–42. Set up as a rebel leader in Junaki in March 1942, but three months later surrendered to General Zahedi, who appointed him and Manuchehr Khan As'ad as army representatives responsible for order in Bakhtiari. Rebelled again after Zahedi's arrest, but was arrested in 1943 and sent to Tehran. In 1946 appointed by Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Co-Governor of Bakhtiari, and shortly afterwards entrusted with the formation of Qavam's Democrat Party there. Ordered to Tehran at the end of 1947, he refused, took to the hills, and after a short scuffle was once again arrested in April 1948. He was tried and condemned to three months' imprisonment and two years' banishment from tribal country, but his sentence was remitted by the Shah.

Member of the Committee of the Persian Partisans of Peace, July 1950—according to him, because of his personal friendship with Bahar. Resigned when appointed Governor-General of Kurdistan in March 1951. Relieved of his post in Musaddeq's pre-election shuffle in January 1952.

Intelligent and plausible, but ambitious and unreliable. He did not hesitate to turn King's evidence for purely personal motives on the outbreak of the tribal revolt of September 1946 of which was one of the ringleaders himself. His behaviour in the 1946 tribal revolt caused us a good deal of trouble. Later went through an elaborate process of apology and reconciliation with us and now considers himself to be our friend.

27. Bakhtiār, Āqā Khān

Born 1908, fifth son of Sardar Muhtashim. Educated in England.

No actual experience of tribal affairs in the tribe as opposed to intrigue in Tehran or Isfahan.

Deputy for Shahr Kurd in 15th Majles. Made the Agricultural Bank his career and became Director of it in July 1951. Resigned March 1953. Appointed Director of the Mortgage Bank September 1953.

Conscientious and hard-working. Believes in need for reforms but not particularly active or influential in politics. Genuinely friendly towards us. Speaks very good English.

28. Bakhtiār, Dr. Shāhpūr

Born 1909. Elder son of Sardar Fateh. Educated and obtained his doctorate in France where he lived for sixteen years and served with the French Resistance Forces during the war. On return to this country was appointed in 1946 as Director of Provincial Labour Office in Isfahan. Aroused

opposition from factory owners by trying to implement labour legislation too enthusiastically. Factory owners succeeded in obtaining his transfer from Isfahan, and early in 1947 he was appointed Director of Provincial Labour Office in Abadan. Was unsuccessful candidate in opposition to official Government candidates for 15th Majles for Isfahan. Contested Khorramshahr unsuccessfully in 16th Majles elections, October 1949, and in the same month was relieved of his post as Director of Labour. Under-Secretary in Ministry of Labour April 1953 until Musaddeq's fall in August 1953. Remained faithful to Musaddeq. Arrested February 1954 for a few weeks for anti-Government activity and again in September 1954 on suspicion of collaborating with Tudeh military organisation.

In Abadan worked hard to improve industrial relations and preserve industrial peace. Conscientious and apparently strictly honest. Relations with Anglo-Iranian Oil Company were on the whole good. Speaks French and a little English. Is an intense Nationalist and professed anti-Communist.

29. Bakhtiari, Jahānshāh Samsām

Born 1910, the second son of Murteza Quli Samsām by his second wife, a sister of Saulat-ud-Dauleh Qashqa'i. Is more of a tribesman than his brothers. After his father he has probably more influence than any other of the Ilkhani Khans in the tribe and of all the Khans comes second to Abul Qasem.

In 1943 was awarded the Humayun medal, 1st class, for arranging a meeting between the Qashqa'i Khans and General Jahanbani. Always friendly with British, he was presented with a silver tray at the end of 1945 in appreciation of the hospitality he had shown to British officials during the war.

Governor of Shahr Kurd and Deputy Governor of the Bakhtiari June 1944. Co-Governor of the Bakhtiari with Abul Qasem in July 1946. Arrested by Qavam who dismissed him in September 1946 for complicity in the plot by Bakhtiaris and Qashqa'is to rise against the Central Government. Governor of Kurdistan, March 1949-January 1950, when promoted Governor-General, Kermanshah, where he did excellent work in making the administration more honest and more efficient. Obligated to resign by Musaddeq, May 1951.

Active, patriotic and comparatively honest, but not very clever.

30. Bakhtiari, Manuchehr As'ad

Born 1905, sixth and youngest son of Haji Ali Quli Khan, Sardar As'ad (buzurg). Married to a daughter of Murteza Quli Samsām.

Arrested with his brothers in 1933 by Reza Shah and condemned to ten years' imprisonment. Was released in 1941 on Reza Shah's abdication. When in prison formed a friendship with Dr. Yazdi, the Tudeh leader. On the strength of this became (without success) Tudeh candidate for Isfahan in the 14th Majles elections 1943. Took up with Sayyed Zia-ud-Din the following year only to quarrel with him later. Worked against the Tudeh in Isfahan in the winter of 1945-46. Co-Governor of the Bakhtiari with Abul Qasem November 1947, and sole Governor after arrest of Abul Qasem in April 1948. Recalled June 1949, and since then inactive. Opium-smoker. Unbalanced.

31. Bakhtiari, Murteza Quli Samsām

Born about 1875. The son of the famous Samsām-us-Saltaneh. Took part in operations against Salar-ud-Dauleh in 1911. Represented the Bakhtiari tribe in the Majles in the same year, and appointed Ilbagi of the tribe in 1912. Governor of Yazd in 1914. Helped the Germans during the war 1914-18. Made his peace with the British Legation

after the war. Has held the appointment of Ilbagi or Ilkhani of the tribe on several occasions. Was Ilkhani when most of the Bakhtiari Khans were arrested in December 1933. He escaped the fate of his fellow khans, and assisted the Government in their policy of inducing the Bakhtiari tribe to abandon their traditional nomadic habits. Appointed Governor of Bakhtiari early in 1943 and did well, suppressing various upstarts like Abul Qasem and establishing order in that tribal area, thereby serving British interests well during the war. By the end of 1945 he had, however, become unpopular with the other tribal khans and he was relieved of his appointment by Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Arrested in September 1946 for complicity in joint Bakhtiari-Qashqa'i rising. Released December. Deputy for Shahr Kurd in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Since then largely in the tribal area.

Quick-tempered, jovial and obstinate. Served Reza Shah well. Very pleasant to meet, but not the sort of man one can trust very far.

32. Baqā'i, Dr. Muzaffar

Born about 1911. Son of Mirza Shahab Kermani, a schoolmaster of Kerman. Received a degree of philosophy from the École Normale Supérieure de Saint Cloud, Paris, and afterwards spent some time in France. Entered the service of the Ministry of Education and became Director of Education in Kerman in August 1944.

Was a member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Democrat Party in 1946 and became Deputy for Kerman to the 15th Majles. In September 1949 was the guiding force behind a new paper called *Shahed* and quickly got into trouble with the General Staff for attacks on the army. He was one of the founders of the National Front and, with other members of it, was elected Deputy for Tehran to the 16th Majles. Engaged with other members of the National Front in violent abuse against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and other British interests. In May 1951 he formed the Toilers' Party (*Hezb-e-Zahmatkashan*) in the hope of organising some labour support for Musaddeq's Government. Widely believed that he received financial support from the Americans to form the party. The party, which has never been much more than a gang of toughs, split in 1952 with the formation of the "Third Force" by Khalil Maleki. In October 1951 Baqā'i accompanied Musaddeq to America. Elected Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles. Broke with Musaddeq openly in March 1953 and gaoled for a few days before the latter's fall in August 1953. Went to Kerman for 18th Majles elections May 1954. Arrested in following June for opposing Government candidates and eventually put under surveillance for some months.

A clever and ambitious man with less of a reputation for dishonesty than many of his old colleagues such as Faumi and Makki.

33. Bāyandur, Ghulām Husain, Brigadier-General (Sartip)

Born about 1900. In the army until 1930, when he went to Italy on a course of naval engineering. Returned in 1934, and was appointed engineer officer of the southern naval force. Promoted major in 1935. Port officer of Abadan and Khorramshahr in 1936. Lieutenant-colonel, 1938. Transferred to General Staff 1944 and was Head of the Naval Directorate until 1950. Deputy Commander of Armed Customs Guards, 1951. Chief of Staff of Naval Forces September 1952-September 1953, after which he retired.

Keenly interested in mercantile affairs, and helped to float the monopoly company for the landing of cargo in the port of Khorramshahr in 1937.

Unpopular with his subordinates. Quick and hot-tempered, but less so than formerly. Uses his position for his financial advantage. Not very intelligent, but hard-working. Speaks French and Italian.

34. Bayāt, Murteza Quli (Sahām-us-Saltān)

A rich landowner from Sultanabad, born about 1882. Member of the Majles on several occasions, and Minister of Finance 1926-27. Deputy Speaker of the 10th Majles. Member of the 'Edalat Party 1942. Accused of hoarding wheat during the winter of 1942-43. Minister of Finance in Suhaili's Cabinet 1943, and performed the useful function of effacing himself completely in favour of Dr. Mills-paugh. Not included in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943.

Minister without Portfolio in Sa'ed's Cabinet March-August 1944. Prime Minister November 1944-April 1945. He sought to improve relations with the Russians, but his efforts only resulted in the paralysis of the administration of the country. Sent as Governor-General to Tabriz in December 1945, but failed to do anything to check the Azarbaijan independence movement and soon returned to Tehran. Joined Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946 as Minister of Finance, but was not included when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946. Deputy for Araq in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Elected Senator from Hamadan autumn 1949 and elected First Vice-President of the Senate on its inauguration February 1950. Member of Mixed Oil Commission May 1951. Became managing director of N.I.O.C. December 1952, in which capacity he took part in the 1954 oil negotiations. But he contributed nothing towards their successful conclusion.

Has a young wife. Speaks a little French. Stupid and avaricious.

35. Behbahāni, Mirzā Sayyed Muhammad (A'yatullah)

Born in the early 1870s. Son of Aqa Sayyed Abdullāh Behbahani, a leading Nationalist *mujtahid* who was murdered in 1906 by a rival clique of fellow-revolutionaries.

A'yatullah Behbahani is a divine of a political rather than a religious bent and wields considerable influence in Tehran both in the bazaar and amongst politicians. Played an important part in stopping the Shah leaving the country in February 1953, and again in the events which led to Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953.

Expects and usually receives payment for his services, in particular from the Shah, with whom he is believed to be closely connected. Regarded by some as pro-British.

His son, Sayyed Ja'far (born about 1911), became a Deputy for the first time in the 18th Majles, representing Tehran.

36. Behnā' Abdul Husain

Born about 1910. Educated in France. Most of his career as a civil servant has been passed in the Ministry of Finance, where he was senior Under-Secretary for several years until 1950. He then became President of the Exchange Control Commission. In August 1952 dismissed by Musaddeq to face charges of irregularities during his time in the Ministry of Finance. Cleared in April 1953. Then given sinecure as financial adviser to the Ministry of Finance. For some months in 1952 led Persian delegation in financial negotiations with Russians.

He has the reputation of being a realist and a sound administrator. He can take quick decisions and rapidly grasp the essentials of financial and economic problems. He mistrusts the Russians and seems prepared to be friendly and helpful towards

the British rather than the Americans. He is reliably reported to be corrupt. Speaks French fluently. Is unmarried.

37. Bashehri-Dehdashti, Āqā Javad (Amir Humā'yūn)

Born in Tehran 1898. Second son of the late Haji Munn-ut-Tujjar. Educated at Tehran and in the United Kingdom (1912-14). Claims that he joined an O.T.C. in the United Kingdom at outbreak of war but was forced by his father to resign before he could get into the British Army. Speaks French and English. Married a daughter of the late Haji Amin-uz-Zarb. One of his sons, Jehangir, is an official of the International Bank. Elected a member of the 7th Majles.

Was in Hamburg at the outbreak of the war in 1939, and spent some time in Germany thereafter. Finally got away to Istanbul in 1942 with the help of Count Schulenburg and returned to Tehran March 1943. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad as a suspect in June 1943. Released May 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Fars October 1946 with approval of the Qashqa'is, but only held the appointment for a few months.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and Minister of Agriculture under Hazhir June 1948. Deputy for Bushire in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Bushire but elected a Senator from Tehran, October 1949. Minister of Roads under Musaddeq, May 1951. Member of Persian negotiating team in oil talks with Harriman and Stokes, July-August 1951. Not included in Musaddeq's new Cabinet of July 1952. Appointed Senator for Fars March 1954.

A lightweight, but has strong ambition of becoming Prime Minister, a possibility which cannot be excluded.

38. Dashti, 'Alī

Born about 1887. Educated in the schools of the holy places of Iraq. Returned to Persia about 1922 and edited a paper called *Shafaq-e-Sarakh*. As an editor notorious for slanderous abuse and blackmail, and frequently abused Great Britain and British statesmen. Elected to the 5th Majles in 1924, but his credentials were invalidated. Prominent in the abortive Republican movement in 1924, and said to have received large sums from Reza Pahlavi, on whose behalf he worked. Espoused the cause of Reza Pahlavi against Ahmad Shah, and was elected a Deputy to the 6th Majles in 1926. Invited to Moscow in October 1927, to attend the tenth anniversary of the Soviet régime. From Moscow went to Berlin and Paris and returned to Persia early in 1928. Deputy in the 7th and the 8th Majles.

Edited or controlled his paper till about July 1935, receiving subsidies now from the Shah and now from the Soviet Embassy.

In July 1935 he fell into disgrace and was said to have uttered disparaging remarks about Reza Shah's régime. His paper was suppressed and he himself was allowed to plead sickness and to retire to a Government hospital.

At liberty again at the end of 1936. In charge of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior in 1937. After the abdication of Reza Shah he returned to the foreground of Tehran politics. A severe critic of Forughi and Suhaili in 1942, he worked hard for the return of Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Prime Minister. When the latter came back to power and did not make Dashti a Minister he turned against him.

Elected to 14th Majles in 1943. In the oil crisis of 1944 he opposed the spread of Russian influence in Persia and strongly supported the "resistance"

Cabinets preceding Qavam-us-Saltaneh's. Was consistently attacked by Tudeh press during this period. Arrested May 1946. Released December 1946.

Ambassador in Cairo from December 1948. Successful in the first stage of Senate elections in Tehran and Bushire autumn 1949. Returned to Tehran early March 1951 and became Minister without Portfolio under Ala later the same month. Shah's special ambassador to Jordan on the cancellation of his State visit April 1951. Appointed by the Shah Senator for Tehran April 1952, after a period of assiduous cultivation of the Imperial family. Elected Senator for Tehran March 1954.

He appears to have no scruples and no principles. Trusted little, even by his friends, who regard his excessive attachment to women (which he publicly displays) as not in keeping with high office.

A persuasive orator who once held the attention of the Majles as few others could.

39. Divānbaigi, Āqā, Rezā 'Alī

Born in Kurdistan about 1891. Related to the Qaraguzlu family. Educated in Persia. In the employ of the Ministry of the Interior for some years. Went to Turkey with the Nationalists during the first war. Chief de Cabinet to Governor-General of Kerman. A member of the 6th, 7th and 8th Majles. Governor of Gilan in 1931. Resigned in 1933, and appointed Governor of Mazandaran in October 1934; relieved early in 1936. Governor-General of Khuzistan July 1942, and showed some energy, but is reported to have lined his pockets pretty thoroughly in connexion with certain contracts. Recalled early 1943. Governor-General, Gilan, October 1947-February 1950, when appointed Senator for Kermanshah. Appointed again March 1954. One of the most violent opponents of the 1954 agreement with the Oil Consortium.

Speaks French. Agreeable to talk to, but unreliable. Tendency to demagoguery.

40. Ebtehāj, Abul Hasan

Second son of Ebtehāj-ul-Mulk, and brother of Ghulam Hussain Ebtehāj. Born at Resht about 1900. Interpreter to the British forces in Gilan towards the end of the 1914-18 war. Entered the service of the British (at that time Imperial) Bank of Persia at Resht about 1920. Did well there and was transferred to Tehran 1925. Assistant to the chief inspector from then till in 1936 he resigned of his own accord, because he did not think his talents were given enough scope.

Head of the Mortgage Bank, 1939. Realised one of his ambitions when he became Governor of the National Bank of Iran in September 1942. In this capacity he achieved much and was also of considerable service to us in many ways. Was Persian representative in the negotiations in London leading to the conclusion of a financial agreement between the National Bank and the Bank of England in August 1947, and to its renewal in November 1948. He maintained very cordial relations with the British Treasury and the Bank of England.

He proceeded unsuccessfully to litigation against the British Bank in 1936 and continued to harbour a grudge against it. In 1949 he did his best to make the bank's position untenable and his attitude was probably a contributory cause of the bank's later difficulties which led to its withdrawal from Persia in 1952.

Ambassador to France, August 1950. Recalled April 1952. Joined the staff of the International Bank in Washington as an economic adviser. Returned to Tehran July 1954. Appointed Managing Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation in September 1954, with the Shah's backing.

As a Persian financier he is unusual, since he

possesses intelligence, ability, energy and integrity. He is a sincere patriot and his financial theories and policy are largely dictated by his genuine desire to improve Persia's economic position. An avowed economic Nationalist but generally regarded as strongly pro-American. But apart from animosity towards the British Bank he has proved himself co-operative and friendly and at times has even gone out of his way to promote Anglo-American economic collaboration in Persia.

He is inordinately vain, sensitive and hot-tempered and has made many enemies among his own countrymen. His unpopularity rose to its height in 1949 when his defiance of the business community threatened to precipitate a dangerous financial crisis.

His truculence and intransigence at this time earned for him a reputation of wishing to become a "financial dictator." Much of his obstinacy and unreasonableness is probably due to ill-health. He suffers from stomach-ulcers.

Married in 1926 Maryam, daughter of Taqi Nabavi. No children. Both he and his wife have been much in the confidence of the Shah and Princess Ashraf.

41. Ebtehāj, Ghulam Hussain

Born at Resht 1898. Brother of Abul Hasan Ebtehāj. Educated at Resht and completed his studies at Beirut, and for a short time in France. Interpreter to the British Expeditionary Force 1918-20.

His father was assassinated by the Jangalis, and he, together with his family, fled to Tehran when the Bolsheviks occupied Gilan in 1920. Clerk in the Prime Minister's Office 1920-21. Secretary to the Governor of Gilan 1921-22. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works and assistant to the American adviser, Colonel Morris 1923-28. Dismissed from that post, apparently for dishonesty. Joined the Ulen Company in 1929, when the latter had a contract to construct the railways in the south. Transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1931; First Secretary in London April 1932. First Secretary in Cairo March 1933. Suspended by the Ministry shortly after, apparently for conduct in London when the d'Arcy Concession was cancelled. In 1934 Chief of Personnel at the Ministry of the Interior; and then director of the Tourist Department and chief of the Touring Club of Iran. Went to Moscow in September 1936 to arrange the transfer of the Russian tourist organisation *Intourist* to his organisation, *Iran-tour*. Assistant to the Chief of the Tehran Municipality October 1937, but returned to the Ministry of Interior in 1938. Director of Administrative Services in the Ministry August 1938. Acting Chief of Tehran Municipality July 1939.

Incurred Reza Shah's displeasure and was relieved of his charge of the Municipality in September 1940. He then joined *Iran-tour* and also served on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Administration. In 1942 divorced his Persian wife and married a Polish refugee. Appointed Mayor of Tehran in 1944. A supporter of Sayyed Zin he was actively opposed to all Tudeh Party influence in the Municipality. He thus incurred the hostility of all Left-wing elements and in December 1945 Hakimi (then Prime Minister) dismissed him as a gesture of conciliation. In 1946 he became managing director of Iranian Airways. Deputy for Bandar Pahlavi in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Mayor of Tehran again November 1949, but resigned in February 1950 on taking up his duties as Deputy for Lahijan in 16th Majles. Strongly opposed to Musaddeq in summer and autumn of 1951 but left Tehran for Europe before the end of the 16th Majles. Apart from brief visits did not return to Persia until April

1954, when he was reappointed Mayor of Tehran. September 1954 also appointed Inspector of the Caviar Purchasing Company.

Author of a guide book to Iran. Speaks fluent English, French and Russian. Clever and resourceful but not to be trusted very far. Active but acquisitive.

42. Emāmi, Jamāl-Ud-Dīn

Born about 1900, son of the Emam Jum'eh of Khauyi. Educated in Belgium and speaks French. Deputy in the 14th Majles for Khauyi, which place had been represented by his brother, Javad, for several years. After at first supporting 'Ali Dashti, in 1946 he was encouraging the *'Edalat* Party in Ahwaz and district. In May of that year he was arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh for intrigues against the State.

Under Huzhūr in June 1948, he became Minister without Portfolio, charged with looking after the affairs of Azarbaijan. He continued as Minister without Portfolio under Sa'ed, November 1948. Resigned in October 1949 to stand for the 16th Majles, to which he was elected from Tehran.

One of the most influential members of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950: it was he who drew up the oil nationalisation resolution of March 1951 (though without mentioning the word "industry," which was inserted by Makkī).

It was his proposal which led to the Majles vote of inclination for Musaddeq as successor to 'Ala at the end of April 1951. Emami subsequently became leader in the Majles of the Opposition to Musaddeq and spoke against him with great force and courage. His rather dubious reputation was, however, a distinct handicap to the Opposition. March 1952, accused of passing an uncovered cheque and for a time went into hiding to avoid arrest. The case was eventually settled. April 1954, elected Senator for Tehran.

Venial. His self-satisfaction makes him a difficult colleague. Fanatically anti-Communist. Not above using "knifemen."

43. Emāmi, Nezām-Ud-Dīn

Brother of Jamāl-ud-Dīn Emami. Married to a daughter of Vusuq-ud-Da'leh. Speaks English.

Served with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 1930-42.

Director-General, Transferred Lands Department, early 1943-September 1944. Head of Persian Trade Delegation to India, October 1944. Persian Government representative with the A.I.O.C., London, June 1947. A member of the Persian Government Delegation in the negotiations leading to the Supplemental Agreement with the A.I.O.C., February-July 1949. Recalled after A.I.O.C. evacuation of the oil areas and returned December 1951. January 1952, attached to the Ministry of Finance as an Inspector of the National Bank.

Ambitious but a reputation for honesty. Patriotic, verging on nationalistic. Proud and rather pig-headed.

44. Entezām, 'Abdullāh

Born c. 1900. Brother of Nasrullah Entezam. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919. In the early 1920s at Washington contracted an unhappy and short-lived marriage with an American. In the Press Department 1933-35. Consul at Prague 1936. Chargé d'Affaires at Berne 1938. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April 1941. Secretary at Berne 1942. Appointed in 1947 to investigate Persian claims against Germany and sent to Stuttgart with the rank of Consul-General. Also accredited to The Hague as Minister, August 1949. Appointed first Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court and then Minister for Foreign Affairs by 'Ala, April

1951, but remained in Stuttgart, returning only in June 1953. August 1953, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs under Zahedi, becoming one of the key men of this Government.

Pleasant and friendly. Interested in science. A man of principles, ideals and courage, with a constructive approach to his job. His integrity and modesty have earned him a very good reputation with his fellow-countrymen.

Speaks English, French and German.

45. Entezām, Nasrullāh

Born about 1899. Brother of Abdullah Entezam and nephew of Hasan 'Ali Ghaffari. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919. Secretary at Paris 1926. Secretary at Warsaw 1927-32. Secretary to the Persian delegates to the League of Nations during the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Member of the Persian delegation to the World Economic Conference 1933. Secretary at London May 1933. Transferred to Washington 1934. Has also served in the Treaty Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. First Secretary at Berne 1936. *Délégué suppléant* at the League of Nations, May 1938. Head of the Third Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (dealing, *inter alia*, with the United Kingdom), July 1938.

Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1941. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the reconstruction of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet in February 1943, a post which he retained in the following Cabinet of Suhaili. Minister of Communications and subsequently for Foreign Affairs in Bayar's Cabinet of November 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian delegation to San Francisco. Persian delegate to Executive Commission of the United Nations in London with rank of Ambassador. Member of Persian delegation to the United Nations January 1946 and again in September. Persian representative on United Nations Palestine Commission June 1947. Ambassador in Washington 1950-51 as well as permanent Persian delegate to the United Nations from 1950 until February 1954, when he again became Ambassador in Washington. President of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1950.

Rather smooth but helpful and honest. Very intelligent. Connected with Princess Ashraf. Speaks French and English.

46. Eqbal, 'Alī

Born in Meshed about 1895. Son of a well-known landowner of Khurasan, with property at Kashmar and elsewhere in the province. Deputy for Meshed in the 12th, 13th and 14th Majles. Never in Government service, but well acquainted with Khurasan politics. An enemy of Suhaili, he was a professing supporter of Sayyed Zia-ud-Din when the latter's fortunes were at their height.

Deputy for Kashmar in the 15th Majles and successful in first stage of Senate elections there, autumn 1949. Early in 1954 founded a contracting firm.

Murky personal morals. Energetic and dishonest.

47. Eqbal, Dr. Manuchehr

Younger brother of 'Alī Eqbal. Born at Meshed about 1898. Educated at Tehran at the medical school, and then in France, where he qualified as a doctor and received a medal for research. Returned to Persia in 1939 and was employed for some time in the Ministry of Public Health. Under-Secretary of the Ministry 1943, he ran the technical side of the Ministry's work with success. Minister for Health, August 1944, under Sa'ed. Enjoyed patronage of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Minister for Health in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946.

Minister for Education under Hazhir, June 1948. Minister for Health under Sa'ed, November 1948, and then Minister for the Interior March 1949. Transferred to Ministry of Roads, January 1950, and continued in that office under Mansur, April-June 1950. August 1950, Governor-General, Azarbaijan, where he did a good job until recalled by Musaddeq, September 1951. In France for five months in 1952. Elected Senator for Tehran, April 1954. Offered Governor-Generalship of Azarbaijan, May 1954, but preferred to keep in the political swim in Tehran.

Married to a Frenchwoman. Ambitious, friendly, intelligent and not without courage, he has a pleasant personality and is said to be a good doctor. Good reputation for honesty. Court physician and close Court connexions of some standing, particularly with the Queen Mother. Also Professor at Tehran University and a directing member of the staff of the Pahlavi Hospital. Sights now (1954) set on becoming Prime Minister or at least Minister of Court.

Speaks good French.

48. Esfandiāri, Fathollāh Nuri

Second son of Hasan Esfandiari (Muhtashem-us-Saltaneh). Born about 1895. Educated in Switzerland and France. Second Secretary of the Persian Legation in London, 1914-24. Assistant Chief of the United Kingdom Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1925. First Secretary at Washington 1926-29, Counsellor at Paris 1929-30, Counsellor in London and Chargé d'Affaires 1930-31, and was in charge at the time of the Persian Exhibition. Chief of the Economic Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1932. Chargé d'Affaires again in London, March to December 1933. Head of the Treaty Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1934; served also in the Passport Section. For three months from the end of 1935 he was in Bagdad on a mission charged with negotiations over the frontier dispute, but achieved little. "Chef du protocole," May 1936 to December 1937. In charge of the Government-controlled Iran Insurance Company, 1938. Appointed Persian Government representative with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 1942, in London. Minister to Polish Government in London, January 1944. Returned to Persia, 1945. Minister in Washington May 1947. Appointed Persian representative on International Bank, June 1947. Returned to Persia after his two years' appointment and made a member of the Seven-Year Plan Council, August 1949. Was head of the Persian delegation to the Islamic Economic Conference at Karachi (1949). February-March 1954, Head of Supervisory Commission for 18th Majles elections in Tehran. Played a useful if not notably brilliant rôle in the 1954 oil negotiations.

Married to a Frenchwoman; speaks French and English. His son is A.D.C. to Prince Ghulam Reza. Friendly and helpful but lacks drive; he has a reputation for integrity and seems to have been successful in avoiding charges or suspicions of corruption. Close friend of 'Ala.

49. Esfandiāri, Musā Nuri (Muvaffaq-us-Saltaneh)

Born in Tehran 1894. Educated in Tehran and Europe. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1916. Secretary at Rome for some time. Chief of the Economic Section of the Ministry 1929. Chief of the League of Nations Section 1932. Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at Paris 1933. Counsellor at Moscow in December 1933 and very soon afterwards transferred to Ankara, where he was Chargé d'Affaires for some time. Head of the Consular Department March 1937. Director-General of Industry and Mines July 1937. Summarily relieved of that appointment in

September owing to a muddle that was in reality due to his predecessor. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs December 1937. Minister, Bagdad, August 1938. Sent on a special mission to Berlin 1939. Left Berlin on rupture of relations in 1941 and returned to Bagdad as Minister until 1943. Though at first suspected of pro-German feelings, owing to his visit to Berlin, he behaved correctly in his second period of office in Bagdad. Minister of Agriculture in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Ambassador to Turkey 1945. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and again under Hakimi March 1948 and Hazhir June 1948. Ambassador to India January 1949-December 1951. September 1954 appointed Ambassador to Japan. Speaks French, Italian and English. Pleasant and well-educated, otherwise has no particular characteristics. Connected with Princess Ashraf.

50. Eskandari, 'Abbās

Born c. 1889. 1920-25 and for a few months in 1941 owner-editor of newspaper *Siasat*. Uncle of Iraj Eskandari and a Qajar prince. One of the founders of the Tudeh Party, but soon broke away to lead a dissident section. In 1942 became a director of the Iran Insurance Company, in which he made money, and went to Egypt 1943-45. Appointed Governor of Tehran in June 1946 and Governor-General a month later, when Tehran was made an independent Ustan. Elected to the 15th Majles for Hamadan. In August 1947 made a violent attack in the Majles on Taqizadeh, the former Ambassador in London. Repeatedly attacked Hakimi's Government in the first part of 1948 and was foremost in demanding a revision of the A.I.O.C.'s concession and the return of Bahrain to Persia. In January 1949 attacked Taqizadeh for signing the revised A.I.O.C. concession of 1933 and thus set off the agitation which eventually led to nationalisation.

Left Persia for Europe very soon after the attempt on the Shah's life on February 4, 1949. Returned to Persia mid-1950. In July 1952 was Qavam-us-Saltaneh's right-hand man during latter's abortive few days' premiership.

He is something of a mystery man. Can almost certainly be identified with Soviet agent No. 16 mentioned in Agabekov's revelations. He is now rich, owning the greater part of Mehrabad aerodrome, having, according to general repute, cheated the original owner out of his title-deeds. Clever and untrustworthy.

51. Eskandari, Iraj

Born 1900. Educated in France as a lawyer. In 1938 published a philosophical review which was nothing more than disguised Communist propaganda, and in that year was one of a group of young Communists imprisoned by Reza Shah and held until latter's abdication, September 1941. 1942-46, a member of the editorial board of *Rahbar*, the Tudeh Party organ, of which he owned the licence. On Tudeh Central Committee from August 1944 and secretary-general to the party. Owns large properties and is generally regarded as very wealthy. Deputy for Sari in the 14th Majles and Minister of Commerce and Industry under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946—dropped in October of the same year. Replaced large number of non-Tudeh Ministry officials with Tudeh members and sympathisers during tenure of office. Went to France, January 1947, and has not returned to Persia. Persian "delegate" to Partisans of Peace Conference in Paris, April 1949. Condemned to death *in absentia*, May 1949, for activities hostile to the constitutional monarchy and for separatism (Azarbaijan). Expelled from France and went to Prague, May 1951.

52. E'tebār, Dr. 'Abdul Husain

Born about 1910 and was partly educated in Germany. Married a German and also has a Persian wife. In 1943 was Head of the Technical and Construction Department in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a post in which he made large sums of money by the gilding of the *Palais de Justice*. Elected Deputy for Borujerd in the 14th Majles and in April 1945 was a member of the Persian Delegation to the San Francisco Conference. Head of Water Department of Tehran Municipality October 1946. Deputy for Borujerd in 15th Majles. Since the end of the 15th Majles has been engaged in business, largely with Germany.

Speaks excellent German, good English and French. Industrious, intelligent and helpful, but rather too close to Ernest Perron, a Swiss at the Shah's Court who has a great capacity for intrigue.

53. Fadākār, Shaikh Taqi

Born about 1905 in Isfahan of humble origin. Educated at the Saremīyeh school in Isfahan. Trained as a lawyer. Worked for a time in the Soviet Consulate-General at Isfahan in connexion with the sale of Soviet textiles in Isfahan. From 1940 onwards devoted most of his energies to improving the lot of the Isfahan factory workers. Founded a primitive type of trade union and became workers' spokesman in disputes about conditions of employment. Affiliated his union to the Tudeh Party, and, with the latter's support, was elected to the 14th Majles in 1943 as Deputy for Isfahan.

Lost his political following among the factory workers of Isfahan during 1944-45, when the Isfahan workers' union broke away from the Tudeh, but in April 1946 he succeeded in re-establishing Tudeh influence. During 1947 when, arising from their support of the Azarbaijan separatists, the Tudeh Party became discredited, he lost much of his influence in Isfahan, professed disillusionment with the Communist inspiration of the Tudeh movement and retired to Tehran. He resigned from the Tudeh Party and was dismissed from the Tudeh trade union, after which he lived quietly in Tehran, obtaining what business he could as a lawyer and giving free services to any workers in legal difficulties. Suspected by the Right wing because of his earlier record and by Tudeh sympathisers because of his defection from that movement, he is living in near poverty in Isfahan.

54. Farhudi, Dr. Husain

Born about 1899. Son-in-law of Vahid-ul-Mulk Shaibani. Educated in Tehran. Served in various capacities in the Ministry of Education, at Tehran and in the provinces. Has also done newspaper work. One of the Directors-General of the Ministry 1943. Successful candidate for Dasht-i-Mishan and Susangird in the 14th Majles 1943. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh December 1946. Released January 1947. Deputy Prime Minister in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Represented Dezfūl in Constituent Assembly 1949. Deputy for Dezfūl in 16th Majles. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, autumn 1949. Cultural Attaché in Rome mid-1952 to August 1953, when recalled by Zahedi Government.

During various absences of Abbas Mas'udi in 1951 and 1952 exercised general supervision over *Eitela'at*.

Speaks French. A man of considerable intelligence who is skilled at trimming his sails to the wind.

55. Farmand, Hasan 'Ali (Zib-ul-Mulk)

Born near Hamadan, 1886. Of the Qaraguzlu family. Educated partly in France; speaks French. A large landowner, was Deputy for Hamadan in the 7th Majles (1928), three times between 1933 and 1943 and again in the 14th Majles (1943). Minister

of Agriculture under Ala, March 1951, and retained this post under Musaddeq, May 1951 to October 1951, when he resigned to stand, unsuccessfully, as Majles candidate for Hamadan.

Pleasant to meet but rather colourless and timid. Limited in outlook and not very practical. Reputation for honesty and generosity.

56. Farrukh, Mehdi (Mu'tasem-us-Saltaneh)

A Sayyed. Born about 1881. Was for some years in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the 2nd Political Department, dealing with eastern countries. Minister at Kabul in 1927-28. Subsequently Director-General of Industry. Governor of Western Azarbaijan February 1936. Again Director-General of Industry and Mines September 1937 and shortly afterwards raised to the newly-created appointment of Minister of Industry and Mines. Removed from this post without explanation March 1938.

Governor-General of Fars 1940, and of Kerman in 1941. Minister of the Interior of Suhaili's Cabinet July 1942 and in spite of Majles opposition maintained his place in the Cabinet. Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in August, made him Minister of Food, in which post he displayed a sort of crazy activity which irritated many and did not achieve much. Having fallen out with the American adviser Sheridan, he left the Ministry of Food on the fall of the Qavam Cabinet in February 1943. Elected a Deputy for Zabul in the 14th Majles November 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars December 1945 but was recalled in February 1946. Presented credentials as ambassador at Nanking November 1948. Arrived in Tehran, December 1949, after withdrawal of mission. Appointed Chief of Police at the end of May 1950; replaced on fall of Mansur Cabinet, June 1950. Nominated Senator for Azarbaijan, December 1950. Elected Senator for Khorasan, March 1954.

Was prominent in opposition to Musaddeq and displayed considerable courage. Hates Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Intelligent and ambitious; but a speech he made attacking the 1954 oil agreement with the Consortium was neither intelligent nor responsible.

57. Fāteh, Mustafā

Born in Isfahan about 1897. Son of Fāteh-ul-Mulk, a servant of the Prince-Governor of Isfahan, Zell-us-Sultan. Educated at Tehran and at Columbia University, where he graduated in economics. Entered the Anglo-Persian Oil Company about 1922. Appointed assistant general manager (Adm.) of A.I.O.C. at Abadan in February 1947, the most senior post held by a Persian. When the last of the British left in 1951 he was quickly retired by the N.I.O.C. Gaoled by Zahedi for a few days in October 1953. After release went to the United Kingdom and returned June 1954. Still lying low.

Has a perfect command of English and is keenly interested in Persian politics. In 1943 founded the *Hamrahan* Party with a reform programme; the party had faded out by 1945. He also has an international outlook and a considerable knowledge of world politics, particularly those of the Left. Anti-American bias. Intelligent, friendly and approachable. Is a mine of information about the foibles of his own countrymen. When assistant general manager of A.I.O.C. he was a focus of mischief and pointless intrigue. Gave A.I.O.C. and thereby the British a bad name by intrigue and personal intervention in Persian Government affairs. He supported the A.I.O.C. well, however, once the nationalisation issue was raised. Reputation for immorality and dishonesty.

Has a son in N.I.O.C. and a daughter formerly married to Asghar Mirza, the son of Sarem-ud-Dauleh. His wife was daughter of the Zell-us-Sultan's head secretary, Seraj-ul-Mulk.

58. Fātemi, Dr. Husain

Born c. 1915 of a Na'in family. Educated at the Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan, and worked for a time in the reading room of our consulate there. After the war went to Paris and took a doctorate in law there. On his return to Tehran took over the editorship of *Bakhtar* from his brother, Nasrullah.

An early supporter of the National Front and Dr. Musaddeq, he took *part* with the latter in the Palace as a protest against the 16th Majles elections in Tehran October 1949. Conducted violent press campaign against the A.I.O.C. from the time of the Supplemental Oil Agreement; bitterly opposed to Razmara. Appointed Political and Parliamentary Under-Secretary to Dr. Musaddeq when he became Prime Minister, May 1951; also supervised Propaganda Department. Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles.

Shot at and severely wounded by one of the Fedayan-e-Islam in February 1952. Minister for Foreign Affairs August 1952 to August 1953, when he went into hiding on Musaddeq's fall. Violently anti-Shah in closing days of Musaddeq's régime. Discovered in May 1954 and tried and sentenced. October 1954, to death for attempting to overthrow the constitutional monarchy. Shot November 10, 1954.

A dangerous and venal intriguer.

59. Fātemi, Mehdi Mushir (Emād-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1886. Added *Mushir* to his name to distinguish himself from the Fatemis of Na'in. Has had an official career in the Ministry of Finance and in 1918 was financial representative in his native city of Isfahan, where he is influential both through his own family and through that of his wife, who is a daughter of Zell-us-Sultan. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Fars in 1922-23. Elected a Deputy from Isfahan in the 5th and 6th terms of the Majles. Appointed Minister of Education in August 1925. Minister of Justice in December 1925 and Minister of the Interior February to May 1927.

As a Minister and a Deputy he was uniformly popular and successful. In 1928 he fell out with the Minister of Court and was not allowed to be elected to the 7th Majles. Elected a Deputy to the 8th Majles 1930. Governor of Gilan from December 1933 until October 1937.

Head of the Municipality of Tehran under Saba'i's Cabinet February 1943. Resigned 1943 and elected Deputy for Na'in 1943. One of the leaders of the Ettehad-e-Melli group in the 14th Majles which contained about twenty Right-wing members.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars in March 1946. Recalled during the Qashqa'i revolt in autumn, but reappointed February 1947. Recalled May 1947. Elected Senator for Isfahan October 1949.

A heavy gambler with a reputation for dishonesty. In ill-health. Speaks a little French.

60. Fātemi, Nasrullah Saifpur

Born about 1905, one of four brothers (one of them Dr. Husain Fātemi), a Na'ini family which claims relationship with Mehdi Fātemi, though the latter denies it. Educated at the Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan, where he became a baptised Christian; but he made away with some of the mission funds and the mission did not forgive him.

He and another, named Husain Sa'adat, wrote a book against Islam. In order to marry his present wife, who is well off, became a Baha'i.

Governor of Shiraz 1941-43; resigned, apparently because he had amassed enough money there. Then returned to Isfahan as candidate for the 14th Majles for Najafabad, and though he had little real following in that area success was engineered for him by Murteza Quli Bakhtiari and Sarem-ud-Dauleh. Intelligent, entirely unscrupulous, and very ambitious; speaks good English, has studied and quotes freely from English literature. Has many enemies. Was largely responsible for organising the anti-Tudeh Workers' Union in Isfahan.

Before Qavam came into power in 1946, he pretended to be passionately opposed to him (a ruse enacted to please the British). In fact he almost certainly supported him, as was shown by an article appearing in his brother's paper *Bakhtar* on the day that Qavam was elected.

After the demise of the 14th Majles he went on a visit to the United States, where he has remained as a professor at Princeton University.

61. Firuz, Muhammad Husain, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1895. The fourth son of the late Farman Farma. Educated at the military college at Petrograd. Entered the Persian Army during the 1914-18 war, and was regarded as one of the promising young officers of the army. Appointed Chief of Staff of the Southern Division in 1925, and did very good work in organising the troops in Fars and enforcing discipline and efficiency. Sent to Delhi as representative of the Persian Army at the Indian army manoeuvres early in 1925. Fell under suspicion for some reason about 1929 and resigned his commission. His Qajar origin was no doubt the cause of his collapse.

Returned to Persia late in 1941, and was sent to Fars as G.O.C. and Governor-General in March 1942. Superseded in both appointments by General Shahbakhhti a year later. He had succeeded in keeping a rather precarious order in Fars, but never succeeded in repressing Naser Qashqa'i's rebellious movement. Head of the Air Force 1943. Again appointed Governor-General of Fars in early summer of 1944, but did not get on with the influential Qavam-ul-Mulk or the Qashqa'i Khans. His enemies accused him of weakness and of truckling too much to the Tudeh, but His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, considered that his refusal to take unnecessarily repressive measures against the Tudeh was more sound. Appointed Minister of War in Sa'ed's Cabinet in August 1944, but refused the appointment. Minister of Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1946. Resigned a month later. Returned to the same Ministry in Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946, but was left out when Qavam reformed his Cabinet in October 1946. Appointed Inspector-General, Persian Air Force, March 1947, and retired from military service in 1949. At one time a member of the Directing Council of the Iran-Soviet Cultural Relations Society and up to 1953 at least still actively connected with various international Communist front organisations.

Speaks very good French and Russian and some English; intelligent but irresponsible. Tudeh-sponsored candidate for Tehran in the elections for the 17th Majles. Married a Miss Namazi, who was educated in Hong Kong, speaks English perfectly, and is one of Persia's leading feminists.

62. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirzā (Farmānfarimāyān)

Third son of the late Farman Farma. Born about 1893. Educated at Beirut and Paris. Sent to Tabriz as Head of the Finance Department 1915. Said to have taken many bribes while in that appointment.

Is very thrifty and has large properties both in Tehran and Tabriz. Elected as Deputy to the 4th, 5th and 6th Majles for Tabriz. On the fall of his brother, Nusrat-ud-Dauleh, in 1931, he retired from public life and was seldom seen. Has been in Europe a good deal.

Elected to the 13th Majles for Sarab in 1941, and again to the 14th in 1943. His appearance, being that of an underfed bird of prey, seems to keep him in the background, but he has a good deal of his father's intelligence. Became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in October 1946 under Qavam, but resigned in December to stand, without success, as a candidate for the 15th Majles.

Founder member of Persian Democratic Youth Organisation, a Tudeh Party cover organisation. July 1951.

Now inactive because of serious illness.

63. Firuz, Muzaffar

Born about 1910, grandson of Farman Farma, a descendant of Fath Ali Shah Qajar and accordingly uses the title of Prince in social life. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Speaks excellent English and fair French; is bitterly hostile to the Pahlavi dynasty and his sole *raison d'être* is to avenge the murder of his father by Reza Shah. At one time employed in Persian Legation in Washington, whence, it is believed, he was removed at the request of the United States Government for abuse of diplomatic bag privileges.

Went to Palestine and brought from there Sayyed Zia's first manifesto. He remained an ardent supporter of Sayyed Zia until May 1945, when he broke with him. He said that the breach was caused by Sayyed Zia's becoming more and more dictatorial, but Sayyed Zia's version was that they had to part because Firuz would not abandon his newspaper campaign in the newspaper *Ra'd-e-Emruz* against the Shah. Towards the end of 1945 he became one of the chief supporters of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. As a reward for this Qavam, when he became Prime Minister in February 1946, appointed Firuz Political Under-Secretary, an office apparently created for the purpose, and Director of Propaganda. He became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in August 1946, but was dropped when Qavam-us-Saltaneh re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946, and sent to Moscow as Ambassador. Relieved of his appointment in the autumn of 1947, he took up his residence in Switzerland and his since moved to France, where he has been reliably reported as active in Communist circles. He has a bent for propaganda and sensational journalism and has succeeded in making himself extremely unpopular even with his colleagues. His mental unbalance is enhanced by a titanic conceit but not by conspicuous courage.

Rash, unbalanced, dishonest, untruthful and malicious, would probably sacrifice anything to bring about the downfall of the Shah.

64. Furuhar, 'Abbās

Born about 1895. Though his junior in age, is an uncle of Abul-Qasem Furuhar. Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1934, and acted as head of that department in 1935 and part of 1936. Head of the Personnel Department July 1936 to April 1937. Counsellor, Ankara, until September 1938. Head of the Protocol Department September 1938.

Sent to Beirut with the vague title of *Délégué* at the end of 1942. Recalled temporarily in 1943 to give explanations about the conduct of Muzaffar Firuz. Chargé d'affaires to Greek Court in Cairo June 1944. Minister to Yugoslavia April 1946. Replaced mid-1949 but did not return to Persia. Autumn 1951, appointed by his friend, Bager Kazemi, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister

to Sweden. On Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953, dismissed by order of the Shah and went to live in France.

Speaks French. Married in 1939 a daughter of Muhammad 'Ali Muqaddam.

65. Furuhar, Abul-Qāsem

Born in Tehran about 1883. A grandson of Mirza Abbas Khan Qavam-ud-Dauleh, who was Minister of Finance for some years. Educated in Tehran and Switzerland; studied law. A judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1915-21. Chief of Construction at the Tehran Municipality 1921-24. President of the Tribunal 1926-27. Assistant Director of the Registration Department in the Ministry of the Interior 1927-28. Judge in the Appeal Court in 1929. Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance under his great friend Davar October 1933. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in June 1934. Minister to France June 1936; but recalled in January owing to an anti-Persian press campaign in some French newspapers. Acting Minister of Interior July and Minister September 1937. Minister of Industry and Mines March 1938. Minister of Interior August 1938 to February 1939 when superseded for no stated reason. A Deputy for Tehran in the 12th Majles October 1939, and in the 13th Majles 1941. Unwilling to become Minister of the Interior to run the elections in 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and later Minister of Finance in Sa'ed's Cabinet March-August 1944.

Delegate to U.N. Assembly, September 1947. Appointed minister to Switzerland 1948. Also accredited to Vienna August 1949. Recalled by Musaddeq, May 1951, because of his relationship with Ghulam Husain Furuhar of Supplement Oil Agreement fame. On Musaddeq's overthrow, August 1953, again appointed Minister to Switzerland.

Well educated. Keeps himself to himself. Quite a good reputation for honesty. Married to a Bulgarian lady.

66. Furuhar, Ghulām Husain

Born in 1903. Brother of Abul-Qasem Furuhar. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran, and at Berlin University where he studied economics and law. Entered the Ministry of Justice in 1928 and held various appointments in that Ministry until 1934 when he transferred to the Ministry of Finance. Director-General in the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In 1941 was appointed to Germany to investigate commercial relations between Persia and Germany. After relations with Germany were cut he acted as economic counsellor to the Persian Legation in Switzerland. Returned to Persia early 1946 and was appointed Director-General of the Taxation Department of the Ministry of Finance. Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets December 1946 to December 1947. Head of Industrial Bank October 1948-August 1949, when appointed Minister of Labour by Sa'ed. Dropped January 1950. Ministry of Labour under Razmara, August 1950. Transferred to Ministry of Finance, October 1950, and undertook the defence of the Supplemental Oil Agreement in the Majles, December 1950, a task which he performed with commendable courage. As a result of the outcry in the Majles, inspired against him by the National Front, he was forced to resign in January 1951. Unsuccessful in Senate elections for Tehran, March 1954.

Gained much influence at one time by his wife's close association with Princess Ashraf. Intelligent and courageous but more of a showman than an administrator. Likes the good life but comparatively honest.

Speaks fluent French and German.

67. **Garzan, 'Abbās, Major-General (Sarlushtar)**
Born about 1902. In Cossack Brigade in early 1920s. Later commissioned in the Engineers. Studied in France 1925-27 at the *Ecole de Génie*. 1929, appointed Chief of Staff of 2nd Division.

In 1939 became head of the Railway Administration, but left it in June 1942 as a result of differences with other officials, and was appointed head of the 3rd Bureau of the General Staff. In September 1943 became head of the 2nd Bureau and a month later was appointed Deputy Chief of the General Staff. In September 1944 appointed to command the 9th Division and became Deputy Chief of the General Staff again March 1946. Promoted brigadier in June 1946, and not long after became Director of Personnel in the Ministry of War. In 1947 assumed command of the 3rd Division at Tabriz and in September 1948 changed to the command of the 4th Division at Reza'eyeh. Promoted major-general March 1950. Relinquished command of the 4th Division in May 1950 to become Deputy Chief of the General Staff, and the next month, when Razmara became Prime Minister, he became Chief of the General Staff; kept this post until July 1952, when he was retired by Musaddeq. August 1953 became Minister of Roads and Communications under Zahedi.

He gained the esteem of the British officers working in the railway administration during the war, who considered that he co-operated well and loyally. He was highly thought of by His Majesty's Consul at Isfahan and has always appeared friendly. He is believed to be one of the more efficient and active officers in the Persian Army. His reputation for honesty, which was once very good, seems to have declined somewhat in recent years. Not a very impressive Minister. He speaks fair French but no English.

68. **Ghaffari, Hasan, 'Ali (Mu'aven-ud-Dauleh)**

Born about 1890. Son of the late Mu'aven-ud-Dauleh, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. Educated in Europe. At one time Attaché to the Persian Legation in Brussels and Head of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the Coronation of Reza Shah in 1926, Ghaffari was appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court, a post he held until March 1929, when he was appointed Political Director-General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dismissed November 1929 for permitting publication in the press of the judicial safeguards accorded to foreign subjects after the abolition of extra-territorial privileges, but reinstated a month later owing to his friendship with Taimurash, the Minister of Court. Minister at Brussels 1933-36. *En disponibilité* for ten years living in Switzerland and France. Returned Tehran mid-1947. In 1947 appointed first Persian Ambassador to Pakistan but did not proceed. Appointed Minister to Brazil with personal rank of Ambassador March 1949 (plus Chile, February 1950).

An agreeable and well-educated man. Speaks French and German fluently.

69. **Gilānshāh, Hedāyat, Major-General (Sarlushtar)**

Born about 1908. Educated at the Tehran Military School. Commissioned 1929, first in the Cavalry and in 1931 transferred to the Air Force. Attended training courses in France in 1934 and 1936. In 1941 first commanded the Ahwaz Squadron and then the Tehran Air Group. Before 1941 associated a great deal with the German community. In October 1943 led a team of officers sent to the United Kingdom for air training. 1947 became Deputy Chief of Air Staff and in late 1949 Commander of the Fighter Regiment.

Appointed Head of the Imperial Iranian Air Force in February 1952.

He is an intriguer, weak, conceited and fond of good living. Though actively employed in the Air Force for the whole of his service, he has little knowledge of modern Air Force affairs. Well in with the Shah, becoming an A.D.C. in 1945 and at present head of his military secretariat. Speaks French and English.

70. **Gulshā'iyyān, 'Abbās Quli**

Born about 1898. Educated at School of Political Science, Tehran. In Ministry of Justice from 1918 to 1935, when he was transferred to Ministry of Finance of which he eventually became Director-General. Successively Minister of Finance, Communications and Justice under Furughi, August 1941-March 1942. Appointed Governor-General, Tabriz, September 1943, but did not proceed. Head of Tehran Municipality January-August 1944. Minister of Communications under Sadr, June 1945. Governor-General, Khorasan, April-September 1948, when he was appointed Minister of Justice under Hāzhir. Minister of Finance in successive Sa'ed Governments from November 1948 to March 1950. Persian Government plenipotentiary in negotiations with the A.I.O.C. which culminated in the signature of the Supplemental Agreement in July 1949. Governor-General of Fars, May 1950, where he did an excellent job. Dismissed in August 1951 because of National Front aversion to him as signatory of the Supplemental Oil Agreement.

Speaks French and has a limited knowledge of English. Affable and friendly. A capable and adaptable administrator, but not particularly honest.

71. **Hā'erizādeh, Sayyed Abul Hasan**

Born about 1894 of a spiritual family of Yezd. Deputy for Yezd in the 4th, 5th and 6th Majles. A follower of Mudarres, who strongly opposed Reza Shah. Has had a career in the Ministry of Justice which he joined in 1928. Deputy for Sabzavar in the 15th Majles. In 1945 was a member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's party. Deputy for Tehran in the 16th and 17th Majles. For some time a member of the Committee of the Partisans of Peace. Although one of the original members of the National Front he began to fall out with Musaddeq late in 1952 and broke with him in spring 1953. Elected Deputy for Tehran to 18th Majles and violently opposed the 1954 oil agreement, being one of the five Deputies who voted against it.

Although in a long history of political opposition he has shown courage and spoken his mind and has integrity of a sort, he is a sufficiently clever politician to know when to dodge. Quarrelsome and falls out with his colleagues, but an effective member of the Majles, where he has often abused the British. Inclined to extreme "neutrality." Not particularly honest.

72. **Ha'fat, 'Ali**

Born c. 1889 in Azarbaijan. Traditional religious education. Was opposed to Reza Khan before he became Shah but later became one of his friends. A Deputy on several occasions before becoming a magistrate in 1928. President of section of Supreme Court of Appeal when arrested at instance of Allied security authorities and interned at Arak, August 1943. Public Prosecutor at Supreme Court of Appeal when appointed Minister of Justice by Mansur, April 1950; he appears to have owed his appointment to the fact that he was acceptable to such mutually incompatible elements as the Court and the National Front. Resigned with Mansur, June 1950. Minister of Justice under Musaddeq, May 1951. Resigned August 1951 on being appointed Senator for Azarbaijan, August 1953.

appointed Head of Supreme Court. Also, November 1953-January 1954, sent to Fars with special powers to deal with the Qashqa'is.

An experienced and influential lawyer. Ambitious and not particularly honest.

73. **Hakimi, Ebrahim (Hakim-ul-Mulk)**

Born in Azarbaijan, 1870: studied medicine in France for ten years; speaks French. Was Qajar Court Physician as was his father. Deputy in the 1st Majles, 1908. Minister of Finance, 1910. Minister of Education, 1910, 1911. Minister of Finance or Education several times up to 1918. Minister of Education 1920. lived in retirement throughout Reza Shah's reign. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets August 1942 and February 1943. Associated with Qavam-ul-Mulk in his pro-German intrigues before the Allied invasion. Member of the National Bank Advisory Council in 1943, 1944 and 1945; was considered an ancient nonentity, deaf and infirm, but in May 1945 was appointed Prime Minister because all other candidates were opposed by one or other faction in the Majles. His Cabinet failed to obtain a vote of confidence and resigned a month later. He again became Prime Minister in November 1945, and did his best to deal with the Russian-inspired independence movement in Azarbaijan and had courage enough to refer to the United Nations Security Council the situation created by the Russian refusal to allow the Persian Government to send troops to Tabriz.

In December 1945 wished to go to Moscow for direct negotiations with the Russians but his request was turned down. Exhausted by his efforts and intimidated by the growing hostility of the Shah and the factions in the Majles, he resigned in January 1946.

Appointed Prime Minister, December 1947, after the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. He survived in that office until June 1948, when his Government resigned on failing to obtain a vote of confidence. A member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom in July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly for Tehran April 1949 and as a Senator for Tehran October 1949. Again a member of the Regency Council and also appointed Minister of Court on the eve of the Shah's departure to the United States, November 1949. Resigned from post of Minister of Court after the Shah's marriage February 1951. Appointed Senator for Tehran March 1954. Elected President of Senate April 1954, and as such appointed member of Regency Council during Shah's absence in winter of 1954-55.

Eminently sensible, friendly and sincere, and not without backbone. Although old, deaf, frail and lacking in grip, he is not yet in his dotage. Wealthy and honest. Very friendly with Tagizadeh.

74. **Hasibi, Engineer Kazem**

Born c. 1902 in Tehran. After graduating from Tehran Law Faculty he studied mining engineering in France. Speaks French and some English.

Assistant Head of Mines Department, October 1942. Reported to be a member of the Tudeh Party in 1943. Director-General and Technical Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, December 1943. Head of Industrial Institute, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, September 1944. Joined Iran Party 1944 and National Front 1950. Chief theoretician of National Front on oil, was appointed additional Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Finance by Musaddeq, May 1951, with position of permanent deputy to the Minister of Finance on the Mixed Oil Commission. One of the Persian delegates at the negotiations with the A.I.O.C. and Stokes mission in 1951, and Inter-

national Bank in 1952. Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles. Always very close to Musaddeq, he remained with him right up to the latter's overthrow in August 1953. Since then in hiding.

Fanatically anti-British. He has a crazy look in his eye and his ideas on oil and politics are completely impractical. Reputation for honesty. Left-wing views verging on fellow-travelling.

75. **Hedāyat, Abdullāh, Major-General (Sarlushtar)**

Born about 1902, the son of Mukhiber-ud-Dauleh (Ghulam Reza Kemal-Hedayat) and so member of a family that has usually been pro-British. Trained at the French *Ecole de Guerre*, and also at Fontainebleau. Head of the Third Bureau, General Staff, February 1941; at the Staff College November 1941; Deputy Chief of the General Staff May 1942; Commandant of the Officers' School November 1942. Under-Secretary, Ministry of War, April 1944. Acting Minister of War September 1944. Director of Artillery November 1954. Under-Secretary of War February 1946. While still retaining this post he left for the United States in March 1947 to negotiate purchases of military supplies. Returned in 1948 and continued in the same post until appointed Commandant of the Staff College in February 1950.

Appointed Minister of War by Razmara, June 1950, and held this post until the latter's assassination. Appointed Commandant of the Staff College May 1951. Retired by Musaddeq July 1952. September 1953, became Minister of War under Zahedi.

A well-qualified serious officer, more staff officer than a commander. Intelligent and ambitious. Has a good reputation for honesty. When with the General Staff supported Yazdan-Punah in his opposition to a foreign military mission, but now appears friendly to the Americans. Fairly friendly to us but cautious and perhaps something of an intriguer. Speaks good French and fair English.

76. **Hedā'yat, 'Ezzatollāh**

Son of Sani'-ud-Dauleh, who was murdered in Tehran during the Constitutional troubles about 1908. Born about 1895. Educated as a civil engineer in Germany. Member of the staff of the legation at Berlin 1920-23. On the staff of the Ministry of Public Works 1925. Appointed Chief of Railway Construction about that time. Interested in various engineering projects in Tehran and in a spinning factory. Director of the Port of Pahlavi 1930. Arrested and tried for complicity in irregularities in the Ministry of Roads and Communications, February 1936; sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine. Exonerated after the fall of Reza Shah. In 1943 engaged in contracting work. Appointed Inspector of Railways in August 1945 and Director-General January 1947. Relieved of this post January 1949. Was selected as independent chairman of a Workers' Congress held in February 1951, under auspices of Ministry of Labour, and for a few months in 1952 associated with the Iranian Trades Union Congress. Has an important interest in a sulphur mine at Semnan. December 1953 appointed by Zahedi Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Roads and Communications.

His mother was a daughter of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. He is married to a Russian and has a son being educated in England. He speaks Russian and French fluently and has a fair knowledge of English. Cousin of Khusrau Hedā'yat. Professes friendship towards us but has a reputation for unreliability and dishonesty. A heavy gambler. Reported to have close connexions with French and German firms, whose interests he espouses assiduously to our disadvantage.

77. Hedāyat, Khusrau Bahman

Born c. 1908. Brother of General Abdullāh Hedāyat. A qualified mechanical engineer. Assistant Head of the Iranian State Railways. May 1944, and appointed Director-General November 1944. Relieved of post early 1945 but reappointed for a few months in October 1946. One of the first members of Qavam's Democrat Party (September 1946) and was made responsible for organising a trade union section of the party to oppose the Tudeh movement. Obtained an appreciable following among workers, especially on the State Railway, presided at two congresses in Tehran in 1947 when the Federation of Trades Unions of the Workers of Iran (E.S.K.I.) was formed (this being the Democrat Party organisation in disguise), and in August 1947 became its first secretary. Elected to 15th Majles for Tehran in 1947. Deputy for Tehran in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, June 1949. Elected president of Asian Federation of Labour January 1950. Failed to get elected to the 16th Majles from Tehran 1950. Apart from a short visit to Tehran in 1954, in Europe doing business since June 1950.

At one time represented workers on High Labour Council and other joint negotiating bodies, and was for some time a member of the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. Has little in common with the working class, and only a slight knowledge of the principles of trade unionism and insignificant organising abilities. Used his position to improve his own status and settle personal scores, but no suggestion of dishonesty.

He was previously married to a Belgian who left him a few years ago. He owes his position to his influence at Court, particularly with Princess Ashraf. Speaks French.

78. Hekmat, 'Alī Asghar

Born about 1894. A Shirazi and cousin to Sardar Fakher. At the Church Missionary Society School at Shiraz, 1908-09. Well-read in Arabic. Went to Tehran in 1914, where he entered the American College, graduating in 1917. Joined the Ministry of Public Instruction as an inspector. Unsuccessful candidate for the 5th Majles in 1923. Employed in the Ministry of Education until about 1930, when he went to Paris to study law. Returned to Tehran in September 1933 to take charge of the Ministry of Education as Acting Minister. Raised to the rank of Minister in February 1936. Dismissed July 1938, owing to the Shah's displeasure about a telegram connected with the Paris Exhibition, but restored to favour as Minister of the Interior, February 1939. Resigned March 1940. Was proposed for Minister, Berlin, but the German Government hesitated about his *agrément*. When it did come the Shah decided to re-employ him as Minister of the Interior instead, but dismissed him in June 1940.

Minister of Industry and Commerce in Furughī's Cabinet in 1941, and had a good deal to do with the negotiations about the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Health March 1942. Minister of Justice in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943, but resigned in July owing to differences of opinion with his chief. Headed cultural missions to India 194 and again in 1947. Delegate to United Nations Education Conference 1945. Minister without Portfolio June and September 1947 under Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O., November 1947. Head of Persian delegation to Tashkent for centenary of poet Nava'i April 1948. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs under Sa'ed January-March 1950. Then continued his university work. August 1953, Minister without Portfolio under Zahedi. January

1954, appointed Ambassador to India, returning for a short visit in summer 1954 for the Avicenna celebrations. Has also served as president of the Persian U.N.E.S.C.O. Committee and on the Ancient Monuments Commission; and been taken up by Princess Shams. In 1952 member of the Persian Preparatory Committee for the Vienna Peace Conference and since about 1947 a member of the Directing Board of the Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society.

The author of some literary works, he has been for many years a professor of Persian history and literature at Tehran University. Friendly and shrewder than he at first appears. He is eminently a professor and not a man of action, and although he is not generally popular he has considerable influence in his own particular circle. Rich, with a reputation for dishonesty.

Speaks both English and French, but neither well, although he has translated some of Shakespeare's works into Persian.

79. Hekmat, Rezā (Sardār Fakher)

Born Shiraz about 1888. Cousin of 'Alī Asghar Hekmat. During the 1914-18 war was a determined enemy of Qavam-ul-Mulk and friendly with the Qashqa'is. After the war settled down in Tehran and was employed in various Government appointments. Governor-General of Kerman 1940-41. Head of the Statistics and Civil Status Office, 1942. Elected to the 14th Majles 1944 for Shiraz. He is still friendly with the Qashqa'i Khans. Appointed Governor-General, Kerman, June 1946. Was a member of Central Committee of Iran Democrat Party. Elected Deputy for Shiraz in 15th Majles.

Elected President of Majles October 1947. On the fall of Qavam in December 1947 was a candidate for the Premiership. Leader of the dissident group of Qavam's Democrat Party. Re-elected President of the Majles April 1948 and again in October and April 1949. A member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Shiraz April 1949. In July 1949 he founded the Socialist Party of Persia, which came to nothing. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Shiraz and Lar, autumn 1949. Deputy for Shiraz in 16th Majles and elected President of the Majles February 1950, being re-elected in February 1951. There were no elections held in Shiraz for the 17th Majles, largely because Musaddeq wanted to keep Sardar Fakher out of the Majles. March 1954, he was elected Deputy for Shiraz to 18th Majles and elected its President April 1954.

A corpulent and polite man. More intelligent than he appears. Sensible and helpful. Is popular and has considerable influence in the Majles. His chief failing is a love of gambling, which does not encourage financial probity. An experienced politician not without Prime Ministerial ambitions.

80. Heshmati, 'Abbās

Born c. 1895, a Qajar prince, the son of Sardar Heshmat. Educated in France; speaks French.

After serving for some time in the army he was elected to the 14th Majles from Mahallat. In that Majles he was a member of the *Kazemi* Party. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh in January 1947 and held until the elections in Mahallat were over—his bitter rival, Shahab Khusrauvari, who he defeated for the 14th Majles, was elected. Released after promising to co-operate with Qavam and appointed Governor of Hamadan January 1947. In August of the same year was appointed Governor-General of Mazandaran where he remained until transferred to Kermanshah in February 1949. A Member of the

Constituent Assembly for Mahallat April 1949. Relieved of Governor-Generalship January 1950.

Governor-General of Isfahan, August 1950-April 1951. Governor-General of Gilan October 1951-May 1953. March 1954, elected Deputy for Mahallat in 18th Majles.

Very rich and fond of the good life. Well in with the Shah.

81. Human, Dr. Ahmad

Born in Tehran about 1906. Son of a prosperous fruiterer, Haji Reza Quli, who sent him to France for his education. He married one of the Sudavar family of Khurasan. On his return to Persia Human practised as a lawyer in Tehran. He entered politics with the now defunct 'Edalat Party. In 1950 Cabinet Under-Secretary under Mansur and Director-General of Propaganda Department. Also a member of the Civil Service Purge Commission. Appointed assistant to the Minister of Court ('Ala) in March 1951, in which job he made no secret of his opposition to Musaddeq. August 1952 transferred to post as Supervisor of the Development Bank for Crown Lands until March 1953, when he resumed his private law practice. A professor of Tehran University.

He is friendly, intelligent and honest but rather indecisive. Politically ambitious. Regarded with disfavour by the Americans.

82. Hovenāstān, Artāshes

Born in Resht in 1905. Educated in the American school at Resht and in 1924 went to study at the Sociological College in Moscow. After his return from Moscow took up the cause of the workers and was imprisoned in 1928 and again from 1931 to 1941. Is said to have carried on underground activity from prison. One of the founder members of the Tudeh Party. Elected Deputy in the 14th Majles for Armenians and Assyrians of Azarbaijan; his election was almost unanimous owing to Russian pressure. Gifted with a certain power of invective he wrote occasionally for the Tudeh press and was a leading member of the Tudeh organising committee. Was on good terms with the autonomous "Government" of Azarbaijan.

Speaks Turki, excellent Persian and Russian and some English, French and German.

Sentenced to death in *absentia* May 1949, following the attempt on the Shah's life in February 1949.

83. Issayeff (or Issayan), Ramon

A Caucasian Armenian born about 1895 and one of the biggest businessmen in Tehran. Has the reputation of being pro-Soviet although according to some people this is merely cover for his intense desire to realise an independent Armenia. He has close relatives in Soviet Armenia. He is, however, mistrusted by the majority of Armenians, who have defeated his recurring attempts to have himself elected as their Majles Deputy. He was a prime mover in the scheme for getting Armenian peasantry to return to Soviet Armenia in 1947 and in this connexion handled large sums of money subscribed by Armenian Armenians. Attended Moscow Economic Conference in 1951. Is said to have made a great deal of money as a contractor to the Red Army occupation forces during the war. Is an able and resourceful financier. In his plans to increase his company holdings he has met with opposition because of his pro-Soviet reputation, but he has secured a large interest in several important industrial and commercial enterprises; he has of late (1954) over-extended himself in the field of agencies as well as, it is believed, financially, and a number of principals have withdrawn their patronage from dissatisfaction with his services. He is reported as having been in financial straits of late

but his resiliency is such that he will probably effect a comeback. He is a board member of the Caviar Purchasing Company and is a considerable shareholder in Iranian Airways. He entertains lavishly with funds which, it is reported—especially among the Armenian community—may well emanate from the Soviet Embassy. Whatever his sympathies, money is no doubt the main motive in his dealings.

Although uncouth in appearance he is well-educated and speaks excellent Russian. In spite of his reputation as a crook he is kind-hearted and generous. Drinks heavily.

84. Jahānbāni, Amānullāh, General (Sepahbud)

Born about 1890, son of the late Amanullah Mirza, Zia-ud-Daulah (a descendant of Fath Ali Shah), who committed suicide in the British Consulate in Tabriz, where he had taken refuge from the Russians in 1917.

Joined the Persian Cossack Artillery School in 1907 and then graduated in Russia where he served two years with the Imperial Guard.

Was made a general, and became Chief of the General Staff in 1922. He visited France and England in 1923. Although a Qajar prince, he favoured the change of dynasty in 1925.

Held various military commands with periodical falls from and restorations to royal favour. He was appointed Director-General of Industry in March 1936. Dismissed in July 1937. Imprisoned in July 1939 until September 1941, when he was liberated and made Minister of the Interior, Minister of Roads and Communications December 1941. Minister of War March 1942 and employed in the autumn at court as a kind of aide-de-camp general to the Shah.

General Officer Commanding, Fars, September 1943. Commandant, Cadet College, 1946, until November when he went on a tour of training establishments in France and Belgium. On his return in February 1947 he was appointed to the sinecure post of Inspector to the Eastern Forces in the Ministry of War.

First vice-president of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society March 1945.

Retired from the army on being appointed Senator for Fars February 1950, March 1954, appointed Senator for Reza'iyeh.

Speaks Russian and French fluently; has a Russian, as well as at least one Persian, wife. Has been very active for some years in encouraging sport, both in the army and in civilian clubs. One of his sons, Husain, studied four years in the Soviet Union and was then forced to leave by the Russians before completing his studies.

85. Jam, Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Has had a long career in the customs and other Government departments, and was, for more than ten years, Persian secretary to the French Legation in Tehran. Director of the Alimentation Service, Tehran, from 1916 to 1920, where he did good work. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the short-lived Cabinet of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din 1921. Acting Minister of Finance January 1922, and Minister of Finance October 1923 to August 1924. Appointed as assistant to the Prime Minister, Riza Khan, until the latter became provisional head of the State on October 31, 1925, and then assistant to the two following Prime Ministers. Appointed Persian Minister to Brussels in 1926, but did not proceed. Appointed Governor of Kerman Province in September 1927, and Governor-General of Khurasan in April 1928. Recalled from Khurasan in December 1928 and appointed Minister of Public Works. Returned to Khurasan as Governor-General in August 1929. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Furughī's Cabinet of 1933, and succeeded him as Prime Minister in December 1935. Headed

the mission to Egypt on the Crown Prince's betrothal to Princess Fauzieh June-July 1938 and received the Order of Muhammad Ali from King Farouk, Minister of Court October 1939. Ambassador to Egypt 1941. Minister for War September-December 1947. Minister of Court January 1948. Accompanied the Shah to the United Kingdom July 1948. Ambassador at Rome June 1949-July 1950. Then mostly on French Riviera until April 1954, when he returned; May 1954, appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan.

An amiable and easy-going man who speaks French fluently. Not averse to being bribed, if done tastefully and not with cash. More at home in ceremonial than in administration.

86. Jazayeri, Dr. Shams-ud-Din

Born in Tehran, 1905, of a family of Khuzistan Sayyeds. Educated at Tehran University and Law School. Joined the Ministry of Education in 1925 and then in 1932 went to France, whence he returned in 1938 having obtained his doctorate.

Director of Instruction in Ministry of Education 1938. Later transferred to Ministry of Finance and became head of Tobacco Monopoly in 1941. Adviser on Millsbaugh Price Stabilisation Committee 1943. *En disponibilité* August 1944. Legal Adviser, Ministry of Finance, March 1946, and Legal Adviser, Ministry of Labour, 1946-48. Member of board of directors of Iran Insurance Company 1948. Member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Resigned August 1949.

Minister of Education under Razmara, June 1950. Resigned January 1951 after a public disagreement with G. H. Furuhan about the Supplemental Oil Agreement. In 17th Majles elections had Makki's promise of support, but elections were not held in his constituency. In private business until March 1954, when elected Deputy for Tehran in 18th Majles. Absented himself from vote on 1954 oil agreement.

Keenly interested in education. Also has considerable knowledge of labour and social developments and assisted in preparation of Persian Labour Code.

Rather a feeble character and an opportunist. Flirted with the National Front. Speaks French. Married in 1941 Mah Munir, daughter of Dr. Musaddab Nafisi, a charming and intelligent woman.

87. Kaihan, Mas'ud

Born in Tehran 1886. Educated in Persia and at Saint-Cyr. Joined the gendarmerie in 1913 and rose to the rank of colonel. Minister of War under Sayyed Zia-ud-Din Tabataba'i after his *coup d'Etat* of 1921. After Reza Khan's *coup d'Etat* he joined the Ministry of Education and became a teacher in secondary schools and later at Tehran University. Was also professor of geography at the Military Academy. Minister of Education under Mansur April-June 1950. Head of Theological Faculty, March 1951.

Of simple tastes. Pleasant and quiet, a good teacher, and honest. Speaks French.

88. Kaivan, Amir

Born 1917. Has lived most of his life at Isfahan as an engineer. With Shams Sadri was active in the formation of the first Isfahan trade union in 1943-44. The Tudeh movement attempted to absorb this union in 1945. Shams Sadri yielded without much struggle, but Kaivan organised resistance to Tudeh, as a result of which a personal attack was made on him and he lost the use of one eye. In 1945 went to Paris Conference of the I.L.O. as workers' delegate. Had to lie low until the Tudeh eclipse in the winter of 1946, when he revived his Isfahan union. In 1947 affiliated his union to the E.M.K.A. Federation, but later withdrew because of E.M.K.A.'s

venture into politics. Again affiliated in 1949. By June 1949, because of strong opposition from employers, E.S.K.I. and the civil and military authorities, the size of his union was seriously reduced.

Elected a member of the High Labour Council in 1951 and subsequently appointed vice-chairman. In 1951 attended I.L.O. Conference as Workers' Adviser and also the Congress of I.C.F.T.U. at Milan as representative of the new Iranian Trades Union Congress. Afterwards visited the United Kingdom. In 1952 attended I.L.O. Conference as workers' representative in Government delegation, and again in 1954, after which he again visited the United Kingdom and met Ministry of Labour officials.

He is popular with his members and has considerable power over them. He dislikes the dependence of Persian trade unions on politics and does his best to keep himself politically independent. Violently anti-Russian and anti-Tudeh, for this reason has the friendship of certain religious leaders and Members of Parliament. Many Isfahan employers are strongly opposed to him because of his obstinacy in pursuing the cause of the workers and his refusal to be bribed. A likeable person, who seems to show more understanding of trade unionism than his collaborators.

89. Kāmbakhsh, 'Abd-us-Samad

Born 1905 at Qazvin; his father was 'Ain-ul-Mamalek, a Qajar prince and wealthy landowner at Qazvin. Entered Persian army about 1923; sent to Leningrad for training and became a pilot there; also imbibed the doctrines of communism with enthusiasm. On return was active Communist and was known as the Persian representative on the Comintern. Sentenced to death by Reza Shah, but was pardoned and then imprisoned with fifty-three other Communists. Exiled in 1940 to Bandar Abbas; released on the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941.

Elected to the 14th Majles for Qazvin with the help of the Soviet representative. Generally regarded as one of the more decent Tudeh members. At one time believed to be dissatisfied with the complete subservience of his party to Soviet interests. Put in charge of the publicity of the Tudeh Party in August 1944. Married to a Persian related to the Kia family who acts as a midwife in Tehran.

Believed to have taken refuge at Soviet Summer Embassy after the attempt on the Shah, February 1949. Sentenced to death *in absentia*, May 1949, for acting against the Constitutional Monarchy. His wife was arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Reputation for honesty. Intelligent, active, and a good orator.

90. Kāshāni, Sayyed Abdul-Qāsem

Born about 1888. Educated at Kerbela and lived there for many years as a *mujtahed*. Expelled by the Iraq Government in 1922 for non-co-operation with our policy in that country, and came back to Persia. He kept in the background during Reza Shah's reign, but on the latter's abdication in 1941 came back into prominence and achieved a certain popularity partly owing to his reputation as an opponent of Reza Shah. His anti-British bias, a legacy from 1922, led him into intrigues with German agents and in August 1943 he fled from Tehran to avoid arrest. He was arrested by British security authorities in June 1944 and confessed to having helped German agents. Released in August 1945. He nursed a bitter enmity towards the British. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh July 1946 and released in November.

In June 1948 he instigated demonstrations against Hazhir after the latter had been elected Prime Minister. Arrested by military authorities after attempt on Shah's life, February 4, 1949, and banished to Khurramabad, but later allowed to leave the country for the holy places of Syria and spent some time in Beirut.

Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Elected to the 16th Majles from Tehran as a protégé of the National Front. Returned to Tehran June 1950 and immediately became active in anti-A.I.O.C. agitation. Was associated with the Feda'iyan-e-Islam at the time of the assassination of Razmara, March 1951, but they later broke away from him. Although re-elected for Tehran to the 17th Majles and its president for a time during this term, he never attended the proceedings.

Musaddeq owed much to the politico-religious support which Kashani provided. Began falling out with Musaddeq November 1952 and broke with him in March 1953. After latter's overthrow in August 1953 Kashani was at first on fairly good terms with Zahedi, but a few months later began to oppose him. From early 1954 lay fairly low apart from a few threats and rumblings.

Kashani is venal and an opportunist of the worst kind. His pretensions to being a religious leader are weak.

91. Kāzemi, Bāqer (Muhazzab-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1887. Educated in the School of Political Science in Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, being first attached to the Russian section, and later employed in the cabinet of the Ministry. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" in 1921. Appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Washington in 1925. Sent to Iraq to inspect Persian Consulates in 1928. Later in the same year appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Kabul, but because of the troubles could only proceed as far as Herat, where he remained as Persian Consul-General. Appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads and Communications in 1930, and Acting Minister in 1931. Appointed substantive Minister of Roads and Communications in May 1931, but had to resign in February 1932 owing, it is said, to being unable to build roads fast enough for Reza Shah. He was subsequently appointed Persian Minister in Bagdad, towards the end of 1932. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Faruqi's Cabinet of September 1933.

Went on official visits to Afghanistan and India November-December 1935, and was the guest of the Viceroy at Delhi. Resigned March 1936 and unemployed until appointed Governor-General of Eastern Azerbaijan April 1937. Ambassador, Kabul, July 1938. Ambassador, Ankara, October 1939.

Minister of Public Health December 1941 to March 1942. Then Minister of Finance in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, but resigned before its fall in circumstances which did him little credit. Appointed to Ankara as ambassador in May 1943, but did not proceed; the Turks appeared to like him as little as the Iraqis, who have not forgotten how he opposed them in the dispute concerning the Shatt-al-Arab waters. Minister of Education in Sa'ed's reshuffled Cabinet of August 1944. Delegate to the United Nations, January 1946. Minister to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, April 1946.

In January 1948 he was offered the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet but he remained in Stockholm. Presented his credentials as Minister to Finland also February 1949. Nominated Senator for Tehran February

1950, but did not return to Persia until September 1950, when he allied himself with the National Front and bitterly opposed Razmara. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Musaddeq, May 1951, is was said as nominee of Kashani, with whom he is very friendly. July 1952, became Minister of Finance in Musaddeq's new Cabinet. Ambassador in Paris March 1953 until dismissed August 1953. In bad odour with the Shah. Returned to Persia December 1954.

Disagreeable, stupid and obstructive. Hypocritical and self-important.

92. Keshavarz, Faridon, Dr.

Born in 1906. Partly educated in France as a doctor of medicine and formerly practised at Pahlavi. Then ran a large and prosperous children's clinic in Tehran. In 1944 became one of the leading members of the Tudeh Party, of which he is a member of the Central Committee, and since then has been responsible in large measure for the organisation of the party. Editor of the Tudeh newspaper *Razm*. Tudeh Deputy for Pahlavi in the 14th Majles. In December 1945 was invited by the Soviet Government to attend ceremonies held in Tashkent on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Central Asian Middle East College. Minister for Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946, but was dropped in the Cabinet reshuffle of October of the same year. During his tenure of office he succeeded in filling many important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

After the attempt on the Shah's life of February 4, 1949, he was reported to have taken refuge in the Russian Embassy. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949 for actions hostile to the constitutional monarchy.

Immoral, completely unscrupulous and reported to be a perfect tool for the Russians. Not without money. An accomplished public speaker.

93. Khājah-Nuri, Ebrāhīm

Born about 1905. Educated in Belgium, where he studied law and psychology and also Posts, Telegraph and Telephone administration. In 1932 head of the P.T.T. Training School, Tehran. 1933-35 collaborated with General Faslullah Zahedi in the Ford agency. In 1936 began practising as a barrister. 1937-39 worked in various State trading organisations. Founder member and Secretary of the 'Edalat Party from 1942. Unsuccessful candidate for the Tehran elections in 1944. Director-General of the Publications and Propaganda Department in 1944 under Suhaili and Sa'ed and again in 1947 under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, when he also held the office of Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister. Elected Senator from Tehran October 1949 and again in March 1954. Legal Adviser to the Tehran Chamber of Commerce since 1944.

A well-known and popular writer, his best-known work being "Bāzighārān-e-'Asr-e-Talā'i," a series of twelve biographies of outstanding personalities in Reza Shah's reign. For some years he has produced a well-known fortnightly newsletter on political affairs. As a historian he is most readable but not very accurate. In politics he is an idealist of marked pro-British tendencies. Has shown political courage. Constructive and a reformer. Less personal ambition than many Tehran politicians. Tends to be over-subtle.

Speaks French and some English.

94. Khājah-Nuri, Ghulām, 'Alī (Nezām-us-Sultān)

Born c. 1894. Son of Amir Nuri (Nezam-ud-Dauleh). Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for several years, with an interval as secretary at the legation in Rome in 1935. Visited London in September 1937, on

business connected with the printing of bank-notes for the Persian Government and commissions for the Royal palace. Chief Inspector in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1946. Head of Protocol Department 1949. Appointed Minister and Chargé d'Affaires at Rome in March 1952. Did various services for the Court after the abdication of Reza Shah, but obeyed Fatemi's order not to meet the Shah at Rome airport on the latter's flight from Persia in August 1953 and consequently now (1954) in deep disgrace.

Educated partly in Russia, where he learnt ballet dancing. Speaks French and Russian. Decadent appearance. When last Head of Protocol Department was helpful and friendly towards us and hospitable and popular with the Diplomatic Corps.

95. Khusrau'vāni, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlashgar)
Born about 1896. Attended the Military School at Saint-Cyr.

Was in temporary command of the Air Force in 1931 and again in 1937. Promoted brigadier (*Sartip*) and placed in command of the Air Force 1939. Officer Commanding Troops, Tabriz, 1942, but returned to be head of the Air Force at the end of 1944, after he had been expelled by the Russians from Azarbaijan. Served as a member of the Interrogation Committee examining the cases of Persians interned by the Allied Forces on charges of complicity in German fifth column schemes.

Head of the Transport Directorate, Ministry of War, 1946. Promoted *Sarlashgar*, March 1947. Deputy Chief of the General Staff 1947. While still holding this appointment he was made Military Governor of Tehran on imposition of martial law after the attempted assassination of the Shah, February 1949, and again after the assassination of Hahzir. Deputy Chief of Staff under Razmara, June 1950, until latter's assassination in March 1951, when he retired.

Believed to be untrustworthy and not particularly intelligent. Has an unsavoury reputation in financial affairs. Not much respected by his army colleagues. Speaks French but very little English.

96. Kupāl, Sādeq, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Tabriz about 1890. Educated in Persia and Constantinople. Originally an artillery officer; but joined the gendarmerie in 1911. Was with the Turks when they approached Hamadan in 1916. (Has the Gallipoli star.) Went to Ankara on a congratulatory mission in 1922 and remained there as military attaché till 1924. On the staff of the General Officer Commanding, North-West Division, in 1924. Chief of Police in 1929. In temporary command of the air force in 1931. Liaison officer with the Iraq forces in the operations against Jaafar Sultan 1931-32. Head of the Conscription Department 1934. Accompanied the Shah on his journey to Turkey in 1934.

Governor of Reza'iyeh in 1941, but retired thence in a great hurry when the town was threatened with insurrection by Kurds and Assyrians in March 1942. Suspected of complicity in the Zahedi pro-German plots. Very intimate with the Turkish Ambassador 1943. Arrested at the instance of the Allied security authorities September 1943, released May 1945. Director of Military Tribunal, Tehran, February 1946. June 1946 promoted *Sarlashgar*. August 1946, in charge of the committee investigating the general strike in Abadan. Appointed Chief of Gendarmerie, 1947, until relieved by Razmara, June 1950, after which he soon retired. Chief of Police, December 1951 until November 1952, when he returned to retirement.

Energetic and loquacious. Has a Turkish wife. Neither studious nor professionally ambitious. Shows some interest in horse racing. Was considered by

the American Mission with the gendarmerie to be honest and sincere. Has a heavy bovine appearance and is addicted to opium smoking. Speaks French and Turkish. As Chief of Police was subservient to Musaddeq.

97. Kurus, 'Isā (Esau)

Born about 1896. A commissioned officer in the South Persian Rifles during the 1914-18 war. For many years a leading and reputable merchant of Tehran, representative of Imperial Chemical Industries, Metropolitan Vickers and many other important British firms. Has a branch in London, where he lives for long periods, alternating with his brother Hasan, who is of similar quality. Fell into disgrace under Reza Shah through no fault of his own. Stood for the Majles for Tehran 1943, without success, and now no longer believes in mixing politics with business. Vice-president of Tehran Chamber of Commerce, 1942-43. Member of Tehran Municipal Council, 1943. Member of board of directors of Iranian Airways, 1946.

Speaks excellent English and is well disposed towards us. Patriotic and honest. A man of rare integrity.

98. Lankarāni, Shaikh Husain

Born about 1890 in Russian Azarbaijan. Religious education in Tehran. During and after first world war collaborated with Sulaiman Mirza and his Socialists. Opposed Reza Shah and was deported to provinces for two years. After that lay fairly low until end of latter's reign.

Elected Deputy for Ardebil in the 14th Majles. Owed election to Soviet intervention. Although believed to be opposed to the Pahlavi Dynasty, in 1943-44 he was employed by the Shah to stir up trouble against Sayyed Zia-ud-Din. Collaborated with Qavam-us-Saltaneh, who in turn arrested him July 1946, but released him in December.

Arrested in March 1948, together with his three brothers, in connexion with the murder of the journalist Muhammad Mas'ud. Subsequently released. Again arrested with his brothers after the attempted assassination of the Shah, February 4, 1949, but again later released. Later collaborated with Musaddeq until July 1952. For some months after coming to power in August 1953, Zahedi used Lankarāni and his brothers to keep in hand the Azarbaijani mobs in South Tehran, over whom they have considerable influence.

Noted Tehran intriguer, mob orator and trouble-maker. Venal and double-faced, but probably not quite so bad as his brothers. The latter, Ahmad, Murteza and Mustafa, have been associated with various Tudeh cover-organisations. In December 1954 Mustafa was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment by a military tribunal ostensibly for insults to the Shah some years previously.

99. Makki, Husain

Born c. 1915. Basic education in Tehran. Did his military service in the air force and rose to rank of sergeant but was discharged on charges of stealing technical equipment.

Dogsboddy to Malek-ush-Shuara in his researches into Persian political history, 1941. Subsequently edited a few books on this subject himself. Deputy Mayor of Tehran, 1946. Director-General of Developments and Improvements, Ministry of Labour, 1947. Elected to the 15th Majles from Arak and to the 16th from Tehran. Secretary-General of the National Front and special protégé of Dr. Musaddeq. Talked out the Supplemental Oil Agreement in a four-day speech mostly written by Engineer Hasibi, July 1949. Rapporteur of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950, and of the Mixed Oil Commission, May 1951. One of the three-man

delegation from the Mixed Commission to supervise take-over of A.I.O.C. in Khuzistan, June 1951, and made money in the process. Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles, heading the poll. In September 1952 began, with Kushani, to turn against Musaddeq and openly opposed him from March 1953. Gaoled by Musaddeq a few days before the latter's fall in August 1953. After his release lay fairly low.

A loud-mouthed man with no ideas of his own; extremist and irresponsible. An unprincipled adventurer. Now comfortably off.

100. Mansur (Rajab) 'Ali, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1888. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was employed in the United Kingdom section. He subsequently transferred to the Tribunal section, where he rose to be Director of the Civil Court. Appointed Director of the United Kingdom section in 1917. Appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1920. Created C.B.E. 1920. Appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan in April 1927, and held that post until January 1931, when he was made Minister of the Interior. Transferred to the post of Minister of Roads and Communications in January 1933. Arrested in January 1936 on charges of misappropriation and incompetence. Acquitted August 1936. Rehabilitated as Minister of Industry and Mines August 1938. Selected by Reza Shah for the post of Prime Minister June 1940, it was to him that the joint Russo-British ultimatum was delivered on August 25, 1941. As the result of the subsequent events he resigned in September 1941. Governor-General of Khurasan February 1942, in which post he showed some energy in collecting wheat, though his administration of the funds of the shrine laid him open to various accusations of embezzlement. Recalled from Khurasan in the autumn of 1945. Governor-General, Azarbaijan, December 1946-July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Tehran April 1949. President of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Prime Minister March-June 1950. Ambassador at Rome July 1950-December 1951. Ambassador to Turkey November 1953.

A clever but dishonest man, addicted to money. An effective diplomat. Speaks French.

101. Mas'ud, Akbar (Sārem-ud-Dauleh)

Born 1885. A son of Mas'ud Mirza Zell-us-Sultan, son of Nāser-ud-Din Shah. Was early recognised as one of the most intelligent of the Zell's fourteen sons, and eventually succeeded to the major part of his father's inheritance. Minister of Public Works and Commerce, 1915. Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1915. Governor of Isfahan in 1917. Minister of Finance in Vusūq-ud-Dauleh's Cabinet of 1919, one of the triumvirate who arranged the abortive Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1920; Governor of Kermanshah and Hamadan in November 1920. Governor-General of Fars, 1922-23, and again in 1929. Arrested shortly after the fall of Firuz Mirza in 1929, and kept under surveillance near Tehran for several months. Thereafter lived quietly in Tehran till 1932, when he was allowed to return to his vast properties in and around Isfahan.

Killed his own mother at his father's instigation on a point of honour in 1906. He seems to have lived down the odium of this deed. Has been several times to Europe and has visited England. The two-fold stigma of being pro-British and a Qajar prevented him holding office during the time of Reza Shah. At the abdication of Reza Shah he at first continued aloof from public affairs, though he kept in touch with what was going on. He gradually became the unofficial controller of almost everything

in Isfahan, displaying commendable initiative in supporting such improvement projects as the Kuhrang tunnel and the thermal power station in Isfahan. He takes a great pride in his model village at Asgharabad, near Isfahan.

Headed the poll from Isfahan in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Isfahan and in Ferāidan, autumn 1949.

Has one surviving son and two daughters. A famous hunter. Is on good terms with the present Royal Family and accommodates members of it when they visit Isfahan. Speaks English and French fluently and is pleasant-mannered, clever and intelligent. Regarded as a British stooge. Not popular with the mass of Isfahanis.

102. Mas'udi, 'Abbās

Born in 1895 in Tehran. Educated in Tehran, and for a year in France. A journalist by profession. Proprietor with his brother, Javad Mas'udi, of one of the two principal vernacular daily papers in Tehran (the *Ettela'at*) and of the French and English daily papers *Journal de Téhéran* and *Tehran Journal*. He accompanied the present Shah, when Crown Prince, to Iraq, Syria and Egypt on his wedding tour as press representative, and kept the Tehran press supplied with a stream of accounts of the Prince's doings, in that quasi-religious style that alone was permitted to Persians when speaking of their monarchy. A Deputy in the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Majles.

In the 13th Majles came out strongly in opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh, and was severely beaten by some of his opponents in the riots of the 8th December, 1942. Visited Palestine and Egypt in May-June 1943. Appointed Director of Iranian Airways December 1944. Visited United States in April 1945, as one of several representatives of the Tehran press invited by the American Government. Covered the U.N. meetings in London in early 1946 as unofficial representative of the Persian press. Returned from America August 1947 and took over direction of *Ettela'at*. Elected to 15th Majles for Tehran which he also represented in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Elected Senator for Tehran October 1949. Attended the Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952. Elected Senator for Tehran March 1954.

Can usually be relied on to keep in with whatever Government is in power. Few, if any, principles.

103. Matin-Daftari, Dr. Ahmad

Born in Tehran 1898. A nephew of Dr. Musaddeq, whose daughter he has married. Educated in Tehran, partly at the American College. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1918. Persian secretary to the German Legation in Tehran 1920-23. Returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1923-27. Joined the Ministry of Justice in 1927, and appointed Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal. Sent to Europe by the Ministry of Justice in 1929 to take up an advanced course of law, during which he studied in Germany, and for a time was sworn in as a judge in a German court. Obtained a degree as doctor of law. Returned to Persia 1931. Director-General of the Ministry of Justice 1932. Acting Minister of Justice for a short time in 1933. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice 1934. Represented Persia at the International Law Conference held in Berlin in 1935. Minister of Justice 1936. Member of the mission to Egypt for the Crown Prince's marriage February-April 1939. Prime Minister October 1939.

Appeared pro-German in various negotiations while Prime Minister and was forced by Reza Shah to resign in June 1940, perhaps as a scapegoat. Arrested by the Allied forces as a suspect June 1943.

but soon released. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946.

Stood, unsuccessfully, as candidate for Tehran in elections for 15th Majles, but was elected from Meshkin-Shahr. An active member of the Opposition which defeated Qavam-us-Saltaneh in December 1948. Elected Senator for Tehran October 1949.

President of the Persian United Nations Association since 1948. Member of the Mixed Oil Commission May 1951, and of three-man delegation to supervise the take-over of the A.I.O.C. June 1951. Attended the Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952.

Speaks French, German and English; he has travelled in England, where (1954) his son is at Cambridge and his daughter at school.

Would undoubtedly like to be Prime Minister again. His ideas on foreign policy are distinctly "neutralist" and he plays in closely with Dr. Tara Chand, Indian Ambassador, 1951-. More cultivated, widely read and travelled than many Persians, possessed of a good intellect and with considerable conversational gifts. Dr. Matin-Daftari is sly and unreliable, and has a reputation for corruption.

104. Mesbah-Fatemi, 'Ali Naqi

Born about 1898. Related to Mehdi Fatemi, but disclaims any connexion with Saifpur Fatemi and his brothers. Has had a career under the Ministry of the Interior, in various posts and inspection duties. Vice-Governor of Isfahan 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan in 1940 and again in 1943. Replaced August 1949.

Speaks English and French. Got on well with the authorities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with whom he co-operated satisfactorily during the labour troubles of the summer of 1946; but regarded as an A.I.O.C. and, therefore, British stooge. Dishonest and of generally bad reputation.

105. Mesbāhzādeh, Dr. Mustafā

Born c. 1904 in Bandar Abbas. His father was a senior servant of Qavam-ul-Mulk. Accompanied Qavam's son, Ali, to France for education, where Mesbahzadeh obtained a doctorate in law. Returned to Tehran in 1929 and was employed in the Ministry of Justice. Developed connexions with the Shah's Court through Ali Qavam, who was Princess Ashraf's first husband.

Owner of the newspaper *Kaihan* since late 1941. Head of Press and Propaganda Department, June 1943. He was the Shah's candidate for Bandar Abbas in the 14th Majles elections but was not successful. He was, however, elected from that constituency to the 15th Majles and also represented it in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Went to the United States in November 1949, to cover the Shah's visit for *Kaihan*. Deputy for Bandar Abbas in the 16th and, being pro-Musaddeq, the 17th Majles. As a Deputy made a lot of money.

Speaks English and French. Socially pleasant and has a charming wife. Since the return of the Embassy has shown himself cautiously friendly towards us. Has a reputation for slipperiness and dishonesty and is certainly an accomplished trimmer. His newspaper office is the most efficient in Tehran.

106. Mu'āzad, Mas'ud

Born about 1890. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and served in certain Russian posts, also Trebizond. A personal friend of Bager Kazemi, who, when Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1934, appointed Mu'āzad head of the Second Political Section of the Ministry, which deals with Russia. Consul-General at Herat in 1937.

Head of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs November 1937. Counsellor, Ankara, November 1938. Returned to Ministry of Foreign Affairs about 1940 and in 1941 became head of the Consular and Passport Department. Persian Government representative at Beirut January 1944, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Withdrawn end of 1946. Appointed Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 1948. Joined Sardar Fakher's Socialist Party in July 1949, and stood unsuccessfully for the Senate in Tehran. Ambassador to Karachi, June 1950–December 1951, when appointed Ambassador to Cairo. Remained at Cairo until March 1953. September 1953, appointed to the High Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On his way to retirement.

A somewhat dried-up individual. Speaks Russian and French.

107. Mufakkkham, Dr. Jamshid

Born c. 1910. Educated in Switzerland from an early age and only returned to Persia in 1942.

Head of the School of Arts and Crafts, autumn 1943. Director-General of Ministry of Commerce and Industry (later known as Ministry of National Economy), December 1946. Under-Secretary and Acting Minister of National Economy under Ala, March–April 1951. Appointed High Inspector when Musaddeq put in Zirakzadeh as Under-Secretary, May 1951. From early 1952 acted as Under-Secretary and for some time during his Minister's absence deputised for the latter. July 1952, appointed a board member of the Foreign Trade Department and in August 1953 made chairman. December 1954, Under-Secretary for Commercial Affairs in the Ministry of National Economy.

A sensible man, honest and conscientious; genuinely friendly and helpful towards us, but not an easy person to get to know. More recently has had his fingers in too many pies.

108. Muqaddam, Hasa, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890. Commanded at Mahabad in 1929. General Officer Commanding, North-West Division, December 1929. General Officer Commanding, Kurdistan Division, at Senneh, 1936. When in Kurdistan had a reputation for efficiency and energy. Was the undisputed ruler of the Province of Kurdistan from 1938 to 1941. General Officer in command of the troops in the West when the Russo-British invasion took place in 1941, and after handing over to the invading forces retired to Tehran.

Being an old friend of Reza Shah he was retained in the army and in June 1942 was made Governor-General of Azarbaijan till August 1943. Ministry of War Inspector June 1945, but retired in 1948. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Maragheh.

Muqaddam gives the impression of being a clever though cautious old soldier, unable to resist the temptation to make money whenever possible. His daughter is married to Reza Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk.

109. Musaddeq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddeq-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1885; a nephew of Farman Farma. Studied law in Paris to a certain extent. Appointed Governor-General of Fars in 1920. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1921, and sought and obtained authority from Parliament to purge and reform that Ministry. However, during his six months' tenure of that portfolio he destroyed indiscriminately the good with the bad, and at the end the organisation was worse than before, as he proved himself entirely incapable of making reforms. Appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan

in 1922, and in 1923 became Minister for Foreign Affairs for a period of four months. Elected Deputy to the 4th, 5th and 6th Majles from Tehran. Owing to his opposition to the Government in the 6th, steps were taken to prevent his election to the 7th Majles.

Imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated by Reza Shah, he spent the last few years of Reza's reign in his village near Tehran. Headed the poll in the Tehran Majles elections in 1944. Tried unsuccessfully to unseat Sayyed Zia.

Sponsored the Oil Law of December 1944 prohibiting the grant of any oil concession until after the departure of all foreign troops from Persia. Made a determined effort to be re-elected to 15th Majles but, though he obtained a large number of votes, was defeated by the candidates of the Iran Democrat Party.

Headed the poll in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran October 1949, but was not elected in the second stage. Led a deputation of twenty National Front supporters, who took *bast* in the Shah's Palace for five days in October 1949 as a protest against the conduct of the 16th Majles elections. Headed the poll in both the initial Tehran 16th Majles elections and the re-held ones in February 1950; with him were elected seven other members of his National Front.

Chairman of Majles Oil Commission, June 1950. Submitted proposal for nationalisation of oil industry, February 1951. Forced the Oil Commission to approve a general resolution in favour of oil nationalisation the day after Razmara's assassination, March 8, 1951. A demoralised and intimidated Majles and Senate approved the resolution unanimously and, when Ala refused to accept the nine-article Bill drawn up by the Oil Commission, voted in favour of Musaddeq becoming Prime Minister, which he agreed to do on condition that they first approved the nine-article Bill. He presented his Cabinet to the Shah on May 2, 1951, the same day as the Shah promulgated the nine-article Law.

From the summer of 1951 onwards his control of the 16th Majles gradually weakened as did his hold on public opinion. Despite his greatly weakened position he contrived to maintain himself in power until the opening of the 17th Majles, the elections to which were to a large extent rigged by his supporters.

Presented the Persian oil case to the United Nations Security Council, October–November 1951; also in the same connexion attended The Hague Court from May 28 to June 24, 1952. Obtained vote of inclination from the 17th Majles on July 6, 1952. Resigned July 17 after a dispute with the Shah over Musaddeq's wish to become Minister of Defence and replaced by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, who in turn resigned on July 19 after serious National Front and Tudeh riots in Tehran. Musaddeq again became Prime Minister with increased popularity and power. October 1952 closed down the Senate and broke off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. By this time some of his old colleagues were beginning to desert him. February 1953, almost succeeded in forcing the Shah to leave the country. August 1953, closed down the Majles after the so-called referendum. Began gaoling even more of his opponents, including some of his former colleagues. Dismissed by the Shah but did not obey until forced out by a popular uprising on August 19, 1953, which followed General Zahedi's more or less abortive *coup d'état*. Tried for treason and sentenced, December 1953, to three years' detention as from August 1953. The light sentence was due to the Shah's intervention. Appealed unsuccessfully in 1954.

A clever political manipulator and demagogue with considerable histrionic talent. He worked on

Persian xenophobia and popular discontent to make himself a national hero and by skilful use of intimidation secured the mastery of the 16th Majles and later the country. He had no positive programme for the betterment of his country and no understanding of practical problems, but kept going by creating one excitement after another. Opposed to any interference by the Shah in the conduct of Government business and eventually tried to force the latter off the Throne altogether. His reputation for honesty stood him in good stead with the Persian people. Still a name to conjure with in spite of all that has happened.

110. Mushār, Yusuf

Born c. 1885. "Chef de Cabinet" to Sayyed Zia-ud-Din at the time of the latter's *coup d'état*, 1921. During the early part of Reza Shah's reign he was once Minister of Education and also a Deputy. Then removed from office and retired to his lands near Lahijan, where he cultivated tea. Resumed political activities after occupation of 1941 and became closely associated with Sayyed Zia. Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Sa'ed, August 1944.

Contributed newspaper articles to *Bakhtiar* and *Setareh*. Joined National Front on its formation and in October 1949 took *bast* with Dr. Musaddeq in the Palace in protest against the conduct of the 16th Majles elections. Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Musaddeq, May–September 1951. Elected as one of the National Front Deputies for Tehran to the 17th Majles, but began to turn against Musaddeq in the summer of 1952.

Rich but honest. A negative personality.

111. Mu'tamedī, 'Ali

Born about 1897. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about 1919. Served abroad as secretary at various posts; *chargé d'affaires* at Rome in 1933. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry (which dealt with British affairs) in 1934 and 1935. Transferred to direct the First Political Department June 1936. Hard-working and intelligent; a good type, who showed himself reasonable and conscientious in dealing with our affairs in the Ministry. Head of the Department of Registration of Land and Documents under the Ministry of Justice March 1938. When the Minister of Justice (Matin-Daftari) was made Prime Minister in October 1939, he took Mu'tamedī with him as Private Secretary.

Married the sister of Ghulam Ali Khajeh-Nuri, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1942, and became Minister of Posts and Telegraphs for a few days at the end of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet February 1943. Was also in charge of the Road Transport Board in 1942 and 1943. Appointed Consul-General at Delhi July 1943. Member of Advisory Council of Anglo-Persian Institute 1943.

Became first Persian Ambassador to India 1947. Appointed to Hakimi's Cabinet as Minister of Roads and Communications January 1948 but did not accept office. Also refused Hazhir's offer of office June 1948. Resigned his ambassadorship in November 1948 as a protest against conditions in Persia. After that lived in retirement at a village near Tehran until July 1952, when the Shah made him manager of the Imperial Land Bank. March 1953 appointed Head of the Shrine at Meshed, but refused a consecutive appointment as Governor-General of Khurasan because of his continued objections to being paid from public funds.

Honest and conscientious. Well-liked but not a very strong character. Speaks French, Italian and a little English.

112. Nabavi, Taqi (Mu'azzez-ud-Dauleh)

Born in Tehran 1882. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1899. Consul at Batum 1908. Consul at Ashikabad 1910. *Karguzar* (Government agent) at Meshed in 1912. Consul-general at Tiflis 1919-21. Has served as consul-general in India. Minister for Foreign Affairs for two months in Sayyed Zia's Cabinet of 1921. Consul-general in Syria 1930. Minister in Iraq 1931-32. Appointed president of the Iran-Soviet Caspian Sea Fisheries Company 1935. Minister at Brussels August 1937. Recalled August 1938.

Head of the Caspian Fisheries Board again 1940. A difficult post which he seemed to occupy with some success, as he knows Russians well and was often able to frustrate, by a little diplomacy, the Russian plans to gain complete control of that undertaking. Appointed minister at Lisbon October 1944, but did not proceed as the plans to open a legation there fell through. In November 1946 left the Caspian Fisheries to become minister at Prague. Replaced February 1951, when he retired.

A corpulent little man, speaking French, Russian and English. Was well in with Taimurtash, but survived the latter's fall. Suspected of making irregular use of customs privilege while employed abroad. Quite a well-disposed person, though not exceedingly intelligent.

113. Nabil, Fazlullah

Born 1895.

Chargé d'Affaires in London, end of 1937 to early 1941. Head of Confidential Office of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 1943. Head of Third Political Department, February 1944. Administrative member of delegation to San Francisco, April 1945, and to the United Nations, December 1945. Delegate to the United Nations, September 1947. Minister at Warsaw, 1948. Transferred to Stockholm, September 1950. Returned to Persia and appointed Under-Secretary at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1951 until August 1952, when Fatemi became Foreign Minister, in which post Nabil did his best to be helpful in adverse circumstances. Reappointed to Stockholm, December 1953.

One of the better members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speaks French and some English.

114. Nafisi, Habib

Born about 1909. Son of Dr. Mu'adeb-ud-Dauleh. Educated Toulouse University and Paris, qualifying as an engineer. Completed practical training in the United States (three years), Czechoslovakia and Germany. On return to Persia was employed as a technical expert in the administration and management of State factories and was for a time director of the Tehran Small Arms Factory. Then employed as Director-General in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, where he became increasingly interested in social problems and employment conditions. He drafted the first Persian Labour Law approved by the Council of Ministers in May 1946. Was appointed Under-Secretary of the newly-formed Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, to which labour functions previously performed by Ministry of Industry and Commerce were transferred in May 1946. In 1947 succeeded in separating propaganda functions from Ministry of Labour. It was almost entirely due to his enthusiastic and insistent efforts that the Labour Law was finally approved by the 15th Majles in June 1949. Replaced during Razmara régime, but was reappointed Under-Secretary and Acting Minister of Labour under 'Ala, March 1951. Remained Under-Secretary under Musaddeq until February 1952. November 1953, Head of the Industrial Organisation, June 1954, Under-Secretary for Industry to Zahedi's Cabinet and December 1954, also Under-Secretary for

Industrial Affairs in the Ministry of National Economy.

He shows a wide interest in social services whether or not within his official duties; in 1948 he established an experimental trade training centre in Tehran, he has worked hard for the Imperial Organisation for Social Services, and he has inspired an embryonic co-operative movement in Persia.

He has paid numerous visits to Europe, to London in 1945 to study the organisation of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and to International Labour Conferences. An admirer of British achievements in social and labour spheres, and pro-British in so far as this does not conflict with his nationalism. Extremely hard-working, conscientious and apparently honest. Through his late father who was in charge of the Shah's education, and his second wife who was a lady-in-waiting to Princess Ashraf, Nafisi has close contact with the Royal Family.

His first wife was drowned at Geneva in 1947. In 1948 he married the niece of Mustafa Adl (Mansur-us-Saltaneh).

Speaks fluent French and English.

115. Nafisi, Hasan (Musharra-ud-Dauleh)

Third son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atebba. Born in Tehran 1896. Educated in Persia and went to France in 1909, where he graduated from the Lycée Henri IV. Returned to Persia in 1914 and joined the Ministry of Finance. On the staff of that Ministry till 1921, when he was appointed Director of the Inspection Department of the Tehran Municipality. Left for France in 1922, where he obtained the degree of doctor of law from the University of Paris, and the diploma of the School of Political Science. Returned to the Ministry of Finance for two years in 1925. Assistant to the *procureur général* of the Court of Appeal in 1927, and in 1928 president of the Tribunal of Commerce. Joined the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as legal adviser in 1928. Visited London 1929. Set up private practice as an advocate in 1930; but remained the company's lawyer. Visited London again in 1933 and 1935.

Minister of Finance in Furughi's Cabinet 1941, and did good work in the difficult task of reconstructing the country's finances on a new basis. Resigned with that Cabinet early in 1942. Persian Government representative to International Bank in 1946. Appointed Financial Adviser to the Prime Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, autumn 1947, and charged with preparation of preliminary report on Seven-Year Plan. Within one month produced report which was basis of subsequent legislation. Post as Financial Adviser abolished January 1948, but he remained chairman of Provisional Planning Authority until the end of the year, when he resigned after disagreeing with Sa'ed's Cabinet over the staffing of the Planning Authority. Was appointed member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949, and Managing Director of the Plan August 1949-July 1950. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. July 1950, went to Europe, returned in November 1953 but left again in January 1954.

Married the daughter of Anân-ud-Dauleh in 1931. Speaks English and French. A very sensible and capable man, with a sound knowledge of local and French law.

116. Nafisi, Sâ'id

Second son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atebba. Born in Tehran 1893. Educated in Persia and later in France. Returned to Persia in 1911, and was employed in the Ministry of the Interior. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1916, where he held different posts till 1927. Since then has been professor of the Persian language and

literature in various schools. Has also done a good deal of journalism for the *Entela'at*, the *Journal de Téhéran* and other newspapers. Was also active in promoting the first Persian cinema film. Has a great reputation as a prose writer. Author of a life of the poet Rudaki, and of a French-Persian dictionary. Published some violently anti-British articles in the local press when the D'Arcy Concession was cancelled. Has a certain knowledge of the Pahlavi language. A member of the Iranian Academy (Farhangestan).

A scholar of sorts and an active propagandist of pro-Russian views. Visited Moscow in autumn of 1945. In the latter part of 1949 and early 1950 was in India in connexion with the "Peace through Education" movement. Prominent in the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society.

Generally regarded as untruthful and avoided by many of his fellow-countrymen.

117. Naisâri, 'Abbas Quli

Born c. 1910, son of Amir Heshmat Naisâri, a well-known Azarbaijani figure. Graduate of Birmingham University. Employed many years in the Bank Melli, but his progress was hindered as he did not get on with the governor, Abul Hasan Ebtahaj. In August 1950, after the latter left the bank, Naisâri became deputy governor until May 1953, when he went to New York as the Bank Melli's representative. November 1953, appointed manager of the Agricultural Bank.

He is solid and outspoken. Until recently regarded as honest, but there are (1954) suggestions of backsliding. He is openly pro-British and is co-operative (embarrassingly so) at all times. He plays bridge, tennis and squash. He speaks English and Turkish fluently.

118. Najm, Abul-Qâsem

Born in Tehran 1893. Son of the late Najm-ul-Mulk, a noted astronomer.

Educated at the School for Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1911. Chief accountant at the Ministry 1920-24, and again from 1926-28. Transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and appointed Director-General there in 1930. Under-Secretary to that Ministry in 1933. In November of that year appointed minister to Germany. Minister in Tokyo early 1940; recalled on rupture of relations 1942. Ambassador at Kabul 1943-45.

Minister in the short-lived Hakimi Government in the summer of 1945 but had not left Kabul when that Government fell. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet of November 1945. He did his best to deal with the Azarbaijan crisis but the difficulties were too great for him.

Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948. Member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Elected from Tehran October 1949 and resigned from Seven-Year Plan on opening of Parliament February 1950. Mentioned as possible Prime Minister March 1950 but Majles opposition was too strong. Member of Mixed Oil Commission May 1951-June 1952.

Reputation for honesty but a very negative person. Still connected with Hakim-ul-Mulk and Taqizadeh.

119. Nakha'i, Muhammad

Born about 1902. Educated in Persia; speaks French.

Secretary of the Persian Legation in Brussels from 1928 for some years, and then remained in Belgium teaching Persian. Also studied law, and eventually returned to Persia to join the National Bank as head of its legal department. Later transferred to the Ministry of Finance as private secretary to the Minister. 1941 became president of the Exchange Commission. At the end of 1943 private secretary to the Prime Minister (Suhaili).

In autumn 1943 helped to organise Government Employees' and Tenants' Association. President of Association of Iranian graduates of Belgian Universities.

Minister of Commerce in Sa'ed's reconstituted Cabinet of August 1944. Minister of Agriculture in Sa'ed's Government in 1945. Minister without Portfolio November 1949 and then Minister of Agriculture January 1950 and of Labour February 1950 under Sa'ed. Continued in this last office under Mansur April 1950 and Razmara June-August 1950, when he was appointed managing director of the Seven-Year Plan, in which capacity he was not very successful. Replaced May 1951, since when he has been mostly in Europe in business.

Capable, intelligent and well-disposed towards us. Brother of Dr. Husain Quds, Brother-in-law of Najm. Married a Belgian while in Brussels for medical treatment 1949-50.

120. Naqdi, 'Ali Asghar, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born c. 1894. He originally served in the Persian Cossack Division and attended the Military Schools at Fontainebleau and Poitiers. In 1929 he was acting Commander of the Khuzistan Division and in 1931 commanded the 1st Infantry Brigade. In April 1941 he was promoted *Sarlashgar* and given command of the 2nd Division (Tehran). Later served as head of the Army Judicial Directorate and in January 1944 became head of the Conscription Directorate. Was still in this appointment when 'Ala made him Minister of War, March 1951. Held same office under Musaddeq, May-December 1951. Then head of the Conscription Department again until his retirement in June 1953.

A mild retiring man who keeps aloof from politics. Reputation for honesty and firmness of character. Respected in the army. Speaks Russian and French.

121. Nâser, 'Ali Asghar

Born c. 1903. Manager of Bank Melli bazaar branch for many years until August 1950, when he was appointed vice-governor of the bank, on the recommendation of Abul Hasan Ebtahaj, to act as mentor to the new governor. He went to London with the latter soon afterwards for discussions with the Treasury and Bank of England and created a very favourable impression. Acting governor of the bank, September 1951-August 1952. Continued as vice-governor until November 1952, when he went to the United States as Persian representative on the International Monetary Fund. Returned August 1953 and appointed governor of the Bank Melli, September 1953.

He is essentially a banker and avoids politics as much as he can, does his best to follow sound, if conservative, banking principles and to protect the position of the Bank Melli. He resists Government pressure well for a Persian, but is apt to give way in the end. He is honest, frank, friendly and has a pleasant but not a strong personality, and as a consequence policy at the bank is more often decided by his juniors than by himself.

He speaks English fairly well and French fluently. He plays an excellent game of bridge.

122. Nasr, Sayyed 'Ali

Born Tehran about 1890, of a well-known family of Sayyeds, one of whom was assassinated while serving in the Finance Ministry in 1924. A Government servant whose career has been mostly in the Finance Department, under which he has served in Khuzistan and on various inspection duties. Ministry of the Interior as Assistant, 1943, and was in charge of the Ministry on the departure of Tadayyun in December 1943. Appointed Minister to China January 1944. Promoted Ambassador

when status of mission was changed in February 1945. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam, June-September 1947. Ambassador at Karachi, March 1949-June 1950.

One of the moving spirits in the Persian repertory theatre at Tehran; in his youth he was an actor, and has translated and adapted for the Persian stage a number of foreign plays, including those of Molière. Good reputation generally. Speaks French.

123. Nasr, Taqi

Born c. 1909.

Was chief of the economic section of Ministry of Finance and later head of the Agricultural Bank. In 1941 went to United States as Ministry of Finance delegate on a permanent Persian trade and finance mission in Washington. Was deputy Persian representative first on the International Monetary Fund and later at the International Bank. Later worked in the United States with a Persian-American trading group. Since 1941 he has spent little time in Persia. Appointed executive director of Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Resigned August 1949 and went to United States. Returned to become Minister of National Economy under Sa'ed January-March 1950. Minister of Finance under Razmara June 1950; dropped October 1950. Now works for the International Bank in the United States.

He is a close friend of Prince Abdur Reza whom he assisted in his studies in the United States. Pro-American. He is keen, intelligent and adaptable, but showed deplorable lack of courage and staying power in deserting from the Razmara Government while abroad on an official mission for it. Since this episode he has not, apart from a short visit in November 1953, returned to Persia.

124. Navāb, Saifullāh

Born about 1893.

Educated in France.

Formerly Director-General of Census and Civil Registration Department, he became a member of the Economic Advisory Committee April 1945. Governor-General of Mazandaran in September 1945 and again in February 1949. In between these two appointments he returned to the Census and Civil Registration Department. Recalled from Mazandaran August 1949. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Governor-General of Mazandaran again April-September 1950. Director-General of Census Department again December 1950. Supported Musaddeq.

Speaks fluent French. Fanatic Muslim. Honest, but neither capable nor firm.

125. Nikpay, E'rāz ('Azizullāh)

Born in 1896. Educated by the Church Missionary Society at Isfahan and at the American College in Tehran. Speaks English and French. Director of a large and important mill in Isfahan. Governor of Kermanshah in 1940-41. Represented employers at International Labour Conference in Paris, October 1945. Governor-General of Kermanshah, May 1946, when he set himself almost unreservedly the task of promoting Government interests in face of increasing Tudeh displeasure. Until the time of his recall to Tehran, he resolutely pursued his policy of strengthening Right-wing opposition to the Tudeh, and where unsurmountable opposition was not encountered he directed local affairs with exemplary efficiency. Political Under-Secretary and Assistant to the Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in July 1946; granted ministerial rank September 1946; Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in October 1946. Resigned December 1946 to become a candidate for Isfahan in the elections for the 15th

Majles; was elected and thereafter reappointed Minister. Dropped from the Cabinet in June 1947. Since then has lived mostly in Isfahan, where he also had interests in the Kuhrang tunnel and the turbine power-station.

A zealous administrator and apparently pro-British but not very reliable. Intelligent and not without charm. An intriguer and dishonest, but thrifty and capable.

Appears to be enlightened on matters regarding relations of employer and employee. A supporter of Qavam-us-Saltaneh.

126. Nikpur, Abdul Husain

Born c. 1896. A rich Tehran business-man who first made his way when Taimurtash was Minister of Court. Amongst many other things he owns most of the shares in the Tehran glass factory. Has been president of the Tehran Chamber of Commerce since the early 1930s, and has considerable influence in the bazaar. He was Deputy for Tehran in the 13th and 15th Majles and was elected Senator for Tehran in October 1949. In opposition to Musaddeq from the summer of 1951. Elected Senator for Tehran March 1954.

A crafty man who prefers to work for his political aims by indirect means. Dishonest and untrustworthy with an eye always to the main chance.

127. Nurzād, Ghulām Rezā

Born in Tehran about 1880. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1905 and held different posts in various consulates in Russia. First secretary of the Embassy at Moscow in 1922. Counsellor there in 1924, and later Chargé d'Affaires. Chief of a section at the Ministry, 1929. Consul-General at Delhi, 1933. Head of the Consular Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 1938. Consul-General at Istanbul, May 1941. Recalled July 1943 and appointed Head of the International Relations Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 1943. Transferred to the Court, 1944. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, 1944. Is now Chief of the Imperial Court but primarily in the service of the Queen Mother.

Speaks French and Russian, as well as a certain amount of English. A rather long-winded person, but quite harmless.

128. Pirazār, Hasan

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1920. First Secretary in Cairo 1925. Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo 1930. Returned to Persia 1931. Consul at Bombay 1932. Consul-general at Baku 1935. Head of the economic section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941. Promoted Director-General 1943. Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh to Moscow February 1946. Appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs January 1948. Appointed Minister to Yugoslavia end 1948 and arrived Belgrade October 1949. Also accredited to Bucharest, Sofia, Budapest and Athens. Returned to Tehran *en disponibilité*, September 1953. Speaks French, Russian and some English.

129. Qaraguzlu, Husain Ali

Younger son of the late Naser-ul-Mulk. Regent of Persia. Born in 1900. Educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. Married the daughter of Taimurtash in 1931; and divorced her in 1935. An attaché at the Legation in London 1931. In the same capacity at Paris 1932. Returned to Tehran at the end of that year, and then employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at first in the Treaty Department, and from the end of 1936 in the Protocol Department. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior at the end of 1937.

Resigned from Government service in 1938 and took to chicken farming. After the fall of Reza Shah was not employed in Government service until he became secretary to Dr. Millsaugh at the end of 1942; and in May 1943 was employed at Court, his brother-in-law, Ala, being Minister of Court. Accompanied the Shah to the United States December 1949 and has since remained abroad.

Charming but ineffective.

Speaks perfect English and French.

130. Qaraguzlu, Muhsen

Born c. 1900. Elder son of the late Naser-ul-Mulk. Brother of Husain Ali and of Fatemeh, wife of Husain Ala. Brought into the Court by his brother-in-law; Comptroller of the Household to Queen Suraya, 1951. Later Assistant Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Court and in 1954 Master of Ceremonies.

An unimpressive person. Has a decorative and enterprising Egyptian wife who spends a lot of her time abroad.

Speaks French and English.

131. Qashqā'i, Khusrau

Born 1921. Youngest son of the late Esma'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Was appointed Governor of Firuzabad in November 1943, but preferred making frequent trips to Tehran to living at his post. Made large sums of money by selling monopoly goods destined for the tribes at an enormous profit in the open market. Elected to 15th Majles from Firuzabad. Went to Europe in December 1947. Spent a long holiday in the United States (1948-49) where he picked up English in a very short time. Deputy for Firuzabad in 16th and 17th Majles. Member of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950, and was to all practical purposes a supporter of the National Front. Returned to the tribe not long before Musaddeq's fall in August 1953, and stayed there, threatening trouble for the Zahedi Government, until December 1954, when he followed Naser Khan abroad.

The reprobate of the family, he has great personal bravery and recklessness. Considered a hothead by his elder brothers and not altogether trusted by them. Inherits his father's cruelty and sadism, and is credited with a number of reckless killings. Has personal charm, considerable powers of persuasion and a boundless capacity for making mischief. A spoilt child with a nasty nature.

Khusrau is intelligent but has an unfortunate propensity for intrigue and an unguarded tongue, which continually gets him into trouble. Changes what he considers to be allegiance whenever circumstances seem to demand it.

132. Qashqā'i, Malek Mansur

Born 1905. Second son of the late Esma'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Studied at Brasenose College, Oxford. Of hawk-like appearance and attractive personality, he talks much but slowly and tends to repeat himself. Speaks good English and German, a little French and Turkish and Turki. Reported to be loved by the tribespeople where Naser is feared, since he is very interested in agriculture and the general well-being of the tribespeople. Devoted to tribal pursuits of hunting and riding. Says that he will do his utmost to oppose any Government interference with the tribe and that he is prepared to fight the army. The least untrustworthy of the Qashqā'i khans, but politically works closely with his three brothers.

Returned to Persia late 1949 after undergoing medical treatment in Switzerland, where he again went for treatment for a time in 1951.

Has great influence amongst the Boir Ahmadi tribes with whom he spent many years of his youth.

He is very popular among the whole Qashqā'i confederation. Married the daughter of Jahangir Khan (Qashquli Kuchek family) by whom he has a daughter.

133. Qashqā'i, Muhammad Husain

Born about 1907. Third son of the late Esma'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Studied at Reading University, but left because of chronic asthma. Studied economics at Berlin University. Deputy in 14th, 15th and 17th Majles for Abadeh. Elected to Constituent Assembly from Firuzabad April 1949. Went abroad in 1949, returned in 1951, and in 1953 again went abroad.

A voluble speaker. Excitable and untrustworthy.

He is known as the "merchant" brother. Not very popular in the tribe—he married a rich Tehrani girl, another cause for tribal criticism.

134. Qashqā'i, Muhammad Nāser

Born 1904. The eldest son of the late Esma'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Elected to the 8th Majles as a member of the Qashqā'i. Ilkani and the most influential chieftain of his tribe for a short time during 1930. Deprived of parliamentary immunity and arrested for conspiracy in 1932.

Fled from Tehran during the general disorder in September 1941 and recovered his old position in Fars, where is now the accepted but not entirely undisputed leader of the Qashqā'i. Does not smoke or drink and is a model family man. Tall, broadly built, staring eyes, slight smallpox marks on face, of commanding presence. A fast and smooth talker and a good raconteur. Fond of town society and when living in civilised surroundings is very reasonable and amenable. When living with the tribes he seems to lose his balance (where matters outside the parochial affairs of the tribes are concerned) and to be easily misled. This instability probably results from his varied earlier experiences, including imprisonment in Tehran with his father, who died in captivity. Basically opposed to the Pahlavi dynasty.

Until the summer of 1945, when he eventually screwed up courage to come to Tehran, he seems to have been generally in fear of reimprisonment. His anxiety to consolidate his position leads him, at the prompting of others, to see in himself a future Governor-General of Fars, Prime Minister and even Shah of Persia.

Speaks a little English and understands much. He had two Germans with him in 1943 and made a landing-ground, intended for German aeroplanes, near Farrashband. He rebelled in 1943 and was attacked by troops under General Shabbakhti, but the operations were very half-hearted and soon fizzled out. In April 1944 he handed over the Germans who had taken refuge with him and undertook to co-operate with the Allies. Was a leader of a tribal revolt in Fars in summer of 1946 in which his brothers also took part. After some fighting the Qashqā'is came to an understanding with the Government and peace was restored. Elected to the 15th Majles but did not take his seat. Deputy for Shiraz in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Shiraz and Firuzabad autumn 1949 and appointed Senator for Fars February 1950. In 1951 was at some pains to show that he was not anti-British and to act as a mediator with Musaddeq over the oil dispute; but he was a member of the National Front and supported Musaddeq to the end. Late in 1952 went to the tribe until after Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953, when he returned to Tehran. Spent most of his time in the capital until November 1954, when he went to Europe and the United States after reaching some sort of *modus vivendi* with the Zahedi Government. In 1954 claimed to repent his

previous anti-British behaviour and asked us to be friends again.

Muhammad Naser Qashqa'i has made himself unpopular in the tribe by permitting the greed of his wife (Bibi Rudabeh) who wishes to seize all she can for Naser's children (three sons, Amanullah Khan (born c. 1922), Abdullah and Changiz, and several daughters).

Physically fit, a good leader of men. Not very intelligent and, like his brothers, not very trustworthy.

135. Qavam, Ahmad (Qavam-us-Saltaneh)

Born c. 1875. A younger brother of Hasan Vusuq. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Became Minister of War, July to October 1910, and Minister of Interior, July to November 1911, and again in December 1911. Minister of Finance, July to August 1914, and Minister of Interior, November 1917 to January 1918. Appointed Governor-General of Khurasan April 1918, and remained there for three years, during which he administered the province with uniform success during troublous times. Became Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, June 1921 to January 1922, and again Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs from June 1922 to February 1923. Banished to Europe in October 1923, being accused of having plotted against the life of Reza Khan (later Reza Shah). Was allowed to return to Tehran at the end of 1928 and arrived in March 1929, when he went to reside quietly on his property at Lahijan near Resht.

Came back to live in Tehran after the fall of Reza Shah. Prime Minister, August 1942, after the fall of Suhaili. Worked hard, but gradually surrounded himself with his own relations and friends. Tried hard to gain control of the Ministry of War, but failed to counteract the young Shah's enthusiasm for the control of the army. The Shah's opposition to him was shown in the disturbances of December 8, 1942, in which Qavam did extremely well and undoubtedly performed a great public service in re-establishing governmental authority. Thereafter, however, he became more and more involved in petty intrigues and favouritism, and had to resign in February 1943; since when he has been more or less openly accused of being the real instigator of the riots of December 1942.

Believed to have been in touch with the Japanese Legation early in 1942, and to have received, when Prime Minister in 1942, messages from persons whom he knew to be German agents, without informing us. This was brought to the notice of the Shah in January 1944.

Became Prime Minister in February 1946 with additional offices of Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior. His policy was to seek reconciliation with the Soviet Government. For this purpose he went to Moscow in February 1946.

Responsible for the arrest of Sayyed Zia and General Arfa in March 1946, probably at Russian insistence. In April 1946 concluded an agreement with the Russians granting them an oil concession in the north, to be presented for approval to the 15th Majles. Submitted to Russian pressure to settle the Azarbaijan problem by conciliatory methods in return for which the Red Army was withdrawn early in May. During his first year of office he destroyed the autonomous régime of the Azarbaijan Democrats, broke up the Tudeh Party and their affiliated trade unions and established the Iran Democrat Party with which he won a big majority in the general election held in 1947. This majority gradually wasted away during the latter half of 1947—in December he was defeated in the Majles and obliged to resign. In January 1948 he went to Europe for medical treatment. Returned to Tehran May 1948. Abstained from overt politics,

but after the attempt on the Shah's life a warrant for his arrest was issued; he immediately obtained an audience of the Shah and then left for Paris. He paid a short visit to Tehran November–December 1949, after which he returned to Europe. In March 1950 he addressed a strongly-worded letter to the Shah, copies of which he sent to the press, criticising the proposed revision of Article 49 of the supplementary Fundamental Laws. For this he was deprived of the title of "Highness" granted to him in 1947.

Returned to Tehran, October 1950, but was not invited to the Shah's wedding. He was freely mentioned as a possible Prime Minister after the assassination of Ruzmara. The Shah's opposition to him was, however, still too strong, and he left for Switzerland again in May 1951. Returned to Tehran July 1951.

Engaged in opposition to Musaddeq until end of December 1951, when he retired to Europe for further treatment. Returned to Tehran April 1952.

On Musaddeq's resignation on 17th July, 1952, Qavam gained a vote of inclination from the Majles and became Prime Minister. Resigned on 19th July when the Shah refused to allow him to dissolve the Majles, opposition members of which were inciting the mob and the army to violence and disobedience, which took the form of riots and demonstrations in favour of Musaddeq and against himself and the Shah, who withdrew the troops from the town. Qavam was dispossessed of his property by an Act of Parliament inspired by Musaddeq (which was never properly enforced, and revoked in 1954). He went into "hiding" until Musaddeq fell in August 1953. March–June 1954 in the United States for medical treatment.

Intriguing, ambitious and fond of money but of great experience and competence.

In spite of his age and poor health there are still signs of some of his old spirit, but it seems unlikely that he will again play a direct part in Persian politics.

136. Qavam, Ebrahim (Qavam-ul-Mulk)

Born 1888. The son of Mirza Habibullah Khan Qavam-ul-Mulk, who was killed accidentally in May 1916. During the war of 1914–18 was very friendly to us, and carried on his father's traditional policy of opposition to the powerful Qashqa'i group of tribes. Having inherited vast properties in Fars from his father, as well as the titular headship of the "Arab" tribes of that province, he wielded immense authority in the south of Persia at the time of the *coup d'État* of 1921. Reza Khan (later Reza Shah) when Minister for War met Qavam at Isfahan in August 1923 and expressed a wish that he should reside at Tehran; he therefore became elected to the Majles as member for the Khamseh (Arab) tribes and thereafter resided a good deal in Tehran. In 1929, as a result of various questions of validity of title to property, Qavam was given crown lands in Nishapur, in the neighbourhood of Tehran and elsewhere in the centre of Persia, in exchange for his Fars properties. It is believed that he did well out of these transactions, and that he is one of the wealthiest landowners of Persia at present.

In the 9th Majles of 1933 he was a Deputy for Baluchistan. He had also accompanied Reza Shah on several of his journeys, and was generally supposed to enjoy His Majesty's full confidence. In November 1933, however, on the arrest of the Minister of War, Sardar As'ad, Qavam seems to have become the object of suspicion, and he was placed under arrest with As'ad.

Played his part in the "events of 1941," he and his family at one time taking *bast* in the British Legation at Gulhek; and when Reza Shah abdicated

and went to Isfahan it was Qavam who was sent by the Government to obtain Reza's signature to documents handing over his properties and private fortune to the State and to his son respectively. Visited India, 1941–42 and bought a house at Bangalore.

Sent back to Shiraz to help General Shahbakhhti with his attack on the Qashqa'is in June 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars, September 1943, but could not agree with any of the military chiefs about tribal policy, and returned to Tehran November 1943. Deputy for Shiraz in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Elected Senator from Fars, April 1949. He returned to Fars for a time in 1952 in an unsuccessful attempt to re-establish his influence.

Qavam's name in the Fars of to-day still commands respect, although the Khamseh tribes no longer look to him as their feudal chief. The general tendency among his own family, whose obedience but not conscience he commands, is to regard him with the utmost respect as the survivor of a day that has gone. He himself does not seem to be conscious of, or will not admit, this passage of time. Now rather timid. Has a pro-British label.

His son, Ali Muhammad, married Princess Ashraf Pahlavi in March 1937, but the marriage was dissolved. He subsequently married a girl of the Shaibani family, daughter of Muhaseb-ul-Mamalek. He had previously been an undergraduate at Bristol, where he did badly, and is now in business. The other son, Reza, married a daughter of General Muqaddam and is at present employed in the Ministry of Labour. One daughter is married to Asadullah 'Alam and the other to Dr. Abul Qasem Nafisi.

137. Qezelbash, 'Aziz

Born about 1900. A Kurd by birth, from Kermanshah. His father and mother were killed during the constitution riots (1905–10). Spent six or seven years in India working on the railway and then lived in Ahwaz, where he was friendly with His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr, for whom he acted as interpreter with the tribes and with whom he was under fire on several occasions. This Consul (Mr. Scane) later left him a legacy. Qezelbash has worked on the Iranian State Railway since soon after its inception and is now in the Inspection Department. Anti-Communist, he joined the Democrat Party and the E.S.K.I. trade union immediately on their inauguration in December 1946. Became second secretary of the trade union and attended the I.L.O. Conference, Geneva, in 1947, as a workers' representative. Led E.S.K.I.'s more militant anti-Communist activities, touring the railway system, identifying Tudeh members and insisting upon their removal from employment with the State Railway. In winter 1948, owing to personal differences with Khusrav Hedayat (the first secretary of E.S.K.I.), Qezelbash was dismissed from the E.S.K.I. After that he operated independently, using his personal influence among railway workers and in the bazaars to draw support away from E.S.K.I. to his own newly-formed "Central Council of the Federation of Workers, Peasants and Tradesmen of Iran." Eventually agreed to the setting up of a joint committee under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour to co-ordinate trade union activities of E.S.K.I., E.M.K.A. and his own Central Council. In February 1951 was elected to the General Council of the newly-formed Trades Union Congress.

Friendly. Genuinely interested in his trade union work, but more of a politician and a "fixer" than a practical trades unionist.

Speaks Turki and Urdu.

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138. Qubadian, 'Abbās (Amir Makhsus)

Born about 1900, son of Da'ud Khan, first paramount chief of the Kurdish tribe of the Kalhurs. Suspected of being pro-German in 1917–18 when Turks and Germans occupied Western Persia. Seized power in the tribe after the murder of Sulaiman Amir A'zam by Pasha Khan, Qubadian's brother, in 1922. He led a revolt against him, was captured and imprisoned. Deputy for Kermanshah in the 14th Majles. In early 1946 succeeded in forming a union of the western tribes to combat the Tudeh and the Democrats in Kurdistan. Re-elected to the 15th Majles for Kermanshah, which he also represented in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Deputy for Kermanshah in the 16th Majles.

Vain and obstinate, he is at loggerheads the whole time with most of his own family. Wealthy and an opium-smoker.

139. Quds (Nakhā'ī) Husain

Born about 1892. Graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Has held various posts under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was secretary in London for five years. Private secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1934. Secretary and, for a time, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington, 1935, until relations were broken off. Secretary in London, March 1937. Consul, Izmir, 1939. Counsellor in London, early 1943. Returned to Persia in 1947. Appointed Head of Third Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1948. Director-General (Personnel) later 1948. Under-Secretary, September 1950. Ambassador in Bagdad, April 1951 until November 1952, when he was removed by Husain Fatemi. Then in Europe, mostly the United Kingdom, until he returned to Persia after Musaddeq's overthrow, November 1953, re-appointed Ambassador in Bagdad.

Speaks good English and French. A quiet and level-headed official. Pleasant and well-liked by his fellow-countrymen and colleagues. Good reputation for honesty. Genuinely friendly towards the British. Has a wife who speaks fluent Cockney.

140. Rāzmanesh, Dr. Reza

Born about 1900. In 1938 he was arrested by Reza Shah for making Communist propaganda. Elected Deputy for Lahijan in the 14th Majles. A prominent member of the Tudeh Party from its foundation and was a dominating member of the Tudeh Party General Party Conference in 1944. Edited Tudeh paper *Mardam*. One of six editors invited by the Ministry of Information to visit the United Kingdom in the autumn of 1945, but did not accept. A genuine Communist who was at one time believed to be not best pleased with the complete subservience of the Tudeh Party to the Russians but unable to help himself. Rather naive.

Believed to have taken refuge in Soviet Embassy after attempted assassination of Shah February 4, 1949. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949 for activities against the constitutional monarchy.

Generally regarded as the most likely candidate for the Presidency of the "People's Republic" for which the Tudeh Party were planning in Musaddeq's time.

141. Rahnamā, Zain-ul-'Abidin

Born about 1888, one of the sons of the late Shaikh-ul-'Araqain, a Persian subject and minor *mujtahid* of Kerbelā.

Rahnama was educated in Iraq and came to Persia about 1910. He was a member of the Democratic Party and edited first the newspaper *Rahnama* and subsequently the semi-official paper *Iran*. He

was elected a Deputy to the 5th and 6th terms of the Majles. Was sent to Europe in 1923 on a mission to publicise Persia, and stayed most of the time in Paris. Was appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Public Works at the end of 1926 and Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior in April 1927. In June 1927 he fell from favour and confined himself to journalism, but accompanied the Shah on his journey to Khuzistan in October 1928 as press representative.

With the object of making headway in politics, he discarded his turban and gave up his title of shakh. This brought him three different under-secretaryships in succession.

Went to Europe in 1933 to purchase printing machinery. In the summer of 1935 was exiled and took up his residence in Beirut; the Shah was said to have suspected him of plotting against the régime.

Returned to Persia after the fall of Reza Shah in 1941, and resumed his editorship of the newspaper *Iran*, which is now run by one of his sons. On a mission to the 'ulama of Iraq in 1942, and brought back certain messages addressed to the young Shah. Plunged into political intrigue in 1942 and after being disappointed at not being accepted by the Iraq Government as Minister became a sort of secretary and spy in Suhaili's Administration in 1943, but soon resigned. Minister in Paris, 1944. Appointed Minister in Beirut, February 1947. First Minister to Amman, July 1949. Returned to Tehran on conclusion of duty, October 1949.

Clever and dishonest. Politically very ambitious and opportunist.

Speaks French, English and Arabic.

142. Ra'is, Muhsen

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Persia and France. The eldest son of the late Zahir-ul-Mulk. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919. Sent to Switzerland as secretary of the Persian Delegation to the League of Nations. Returned to Persia in 1924, and served in the Ministry till he was sent to Paris as counsellor in 1930. Head of the Treaty Section of the Ministry in 1933. Minister at Berlin and The Hague 1935. Political Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs September 1937. Minister at Bucharest for Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia December 1938.

Transferred to Vichy in 1941, and returned in July 1942 to Tehran. Minister in Bagdad July 1943. Ambassador to London June 1947. Returned to Tehran to become Minister for Foreign Affairs under Razmara, August 1950. Held post until assassination of Razmara, March 1951. October 1953, appointed Ambassador to Paris.

A very agreeable man, but with little force of character. Speaks good French. Married one of the many daughters of Farman Farni in 1935.

143. Rustā, Reza

Born about 1900. Imprisoned by Reza Shah for espionage—map stealing from the military office at Kerman. In 1944 was in close touch with the Soviet Trade Delegation and was the channel through which Soviet help, in the form of cash, paper or transport facilities, reached the Tudeh Party. In the same year became a member of the Tudeh Inspection Committee and was strongly opposed to the moderate policy then pursued by the Tudeh Central Committee. Appointed secretary of the Central United Council of the Persian Federation of Trade Unions (Tudeh) and, following Louis Saillant's visit to Persia in 1946, was officially recognised by the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of Persian workers.

In December 1946 complained to W.F.T.U. and British Trades Union Congress of oppression of Persian workers, arrests and victimisation. He appealed for a W.F.T.U. delegation to visit the country to investigate. On arrival of this delegation in February 1947 Rusta was closely associated with the President, El Aris, and the Russian member, Borisov. His reputation with the Persian workers was strengthened by this delegation. Arrested April 1947 on charges of high treason in connexion with the Azarbaijan secessionist movement. Released on bail of 1 million rials in November 1947, allegedly through intervention of the then Prime Minister Qavam. After his release from prison he avoided the public eye, but worked energetically and quietly consolidating the Tudeh trade union movement and organising a purge of waverers. Is believed to have left for Moscow shortly before the attempted assassination of the Shah and was sentenced to death *in absentia* with other Tudeh leaders in May 1949. Since then believed to have spent a lot of his time at the W.F.T.U. headquarters in Vienna.

144. Sadiq, Dr. 'Isā (Sadiq-e-A'lam)

Born about 1892. Educated partly in England (where he was for a time secretary to Professor E. G. Browne) and partly in America, where he took a doctor's degree. Began his career in a very lowly station in the Ministry of Education. Rose to be Director of Education in Gilan. Attended an international congress on education in England about 1929, where he lectured on modern educational methods in Persia. Principal of the 'Teachers' College (*École normale*) 1932.

Minister of Public Instruction in Furughi's Cabinet September 1941. On the resignation of that Cabinet in 1942 became dean of the University of Tehran. Again Minister of Education in Suhaili's reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Education in Bayat's Government of November 1944. As chairman of Tehran Telephone Company went to the United Kingdom to buy equipment for the Company in 1947. Minister of Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh June-December 1947. Deputy for Tehran in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Represented Persia at the "Peace through Education" conference at Calcutta September 1949. Elected Senator from Tehran October 1949 and again in March 1954. Has been a professor of Persian literature at Tehran University for many years.

An intelligent and go-ahead man speaking English and French. Has a good reputation as a scholar but politically is neither very important nor very active. Well disposed towards Anglo-Saxon methods of education. The author of several works on education.

145. Sadr, Sayyed Muhsen (Sadr-el-Astrāf)

Born about 1873. An almost unknown person in Tehran politics until appointed Minister of Justice in Furughi's Cabinet of 7th September, 1933. Spent the whole of his previous service in various judicial posts under the Ministry of Justice. Has been president of the Court of Cassation. Was responsible for some of the new sections of the Civil Code. Resigned September 1936.

Minister of Justice in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1943. Said to have been one of the pro-German *Kabud* Party in 1942. Became Prime Minister on June 6, 1945. Resigned October 1945. During his period of office he was bitterly attacked by all Left-wing elements and accused of being a reactionary. Did his best to resist Soviet encroachment on Northern Persia, but the pressure was too strong and he was replaced by Hakimi who was less unpopular with the Russians.

In charge of pilgrim train to Mecca on resumption of pilgrimage in autumn 1948. Governor-General.

Khurasan, 1949-51. Appointed Senator for Khurasan, March 1954.

Respected as a learned man. Rich and ambitious. Old school in his politics and his ways.

146. Sa'ed (Marāgheh), Muhammad (Sā'ed-ul-Vezāreh)

Born about 1885. Educated in the Caucasus. Served in various capacities in the Persian consular posts at Baku, Tiflis and Batum. Acting Consul-General at Baku in 1927. Head of the Russian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1933. Appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow in February 1934. Minister at Rome, June 1936. Accredited also to Hungary, 1938. Ambassador at Moscow, April 1938.

Recalled from Moscow to be Minister for Foreign Affairs in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet, August 1942. Held the post in Cabinet of Suhaili, February 1943.

Appointed Prime Minister in March 1944. Resigned November 1944. After Kavtaradze's arrival to discuss a Soviet oil concession he was persistently opposed by the Tudeh and the Russians and was thus able to do little during his tenure of office. His Government's rejection in October 1944 of the demand for an oil concession brought about a crisis which resulted in Sa'ed's resignation.

Elected to 15th Majles for Reza'iyeh. Member of Regency Council during Shah's visit to the United Kingdom, July 1948, and again during his visit to the United States, November-December 1949. Became Prime Minister again November 1948. Resigned March 1950. Nominated Senator for Reza'iyeh, April 1950. Ambassador to Turkey, June 1950-51. Elected Senator for Reza'iyeh, March 1954.

An agreeable person, whose Russian is better than his Persian. More intelligent than he appears. Always willing to help. Good reputation for honesty. Appears to have no delusions about Russia. As Prime Minister from November 1948-March 1950 he showed himself as well-intentioned rather than effective. He has a handsome Latvian wife and a daughter married to John Wallis, the British journalist.

147. Sajjādi, Dr. Muhammad

Born in 1899 in Tehran. Son of a Tehran Mullah. Employed in the Ministry of Justice by the late Davar and later transferred to the Customs as Acting Director-General, 1934. Then employed in the Tobacco Monopoly until 1937, when he became Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Communications in November 1938.

Minister of Roads in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1941 and then head of the Tehran Municipality in 1942. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad by the Allied security authorities, September 1943. Released at end of war.

Director of the Exchange Control Department in the Ministry of Finance in Hakimi's Government of November 1945. Resigned November 1945.

Minister of National Economy under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, September-December 1947. Again under Hakimi, December 1947-June 1948. Minister of Roads under Sa'ed, November 1948, but changed to Justice March 1949. Lost office with Sa'ed March 1950, and became Head of the Civil Service Purge Commission, in which job his own reputation did not always inspire confidence in the Commission's recommendations. Managing Director of Seven-Year Plan, July-August 1950. Governor-General, Isfahan, April-June 1951. Governor-General of Azarbaijan October 1951-August 1952. Then Head of Military Tribunal until Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953. Appointed Senator for Tehran March 1954.

Spent several years in France and speaks French. A talkative and clever man. Ambitious and has not a good reputation for honesty. Not very reliable, if only because of his ability in trimming his sails to most winds. Married his brother's wife after she had been divorced as a result of a liaison with himself.

148. Sāleh, Allāhyār

Born about 1900. Graduate of the American College at Tehran. For some years employed as a secretary in the American Legation (now Embassy) at Tehran, where his brother, Pasha Khan Saleh, has for some years been the senior Persian employee on the political side. He then entered the Ministry of Justice, where he held various appointments. Was transferred to the Ministry of Finance and appointed director of the opium monopoly, and afterwards director of the tobacco monopoly. Head of the Customs for a short time. Then Accountant-General.

Sent to Washington on an economic mission, 1941. Returned in the autumn of 1942 to be Minister of Finance in the hope that he would work well with the American adviser, Dr. Millspaugh, but he proved a disappointment, quarrelled with Dr. Millspaugh, and was allowed to resign by Suhaili in March 1943.

Sent on a commercial mission to India, September 1943. Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco and spent some time in London on his way back to Persia. Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet, November 1945 to January 1946, when he dismissed Ghulam Husain Ebtehaj, the pro-Sayyid Zia Mayor of Tehran, and replaced him by Nariman, as being more acceptable to the Russians.

In Hakimi's Cabinet he was regarded as the leader of the appeasement group. Minister of Justice, August 1946; resigned October 1946. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Unsuccessful in 16th Majles elections in Tehran but elected from Kashan April 1950. Member of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950, and chairman of the Mixed Oil Commission, May 1951. A member of the National Front. Minister of Interior, February 1952.

Resigned from Ministry of the Interior, March 1952, because he would not carry out certain acts of interference in the elections called for by other members of the Government. He thus confirmed the impression that, although often wrong-headed, he is a man of some integrity. Elected to 17th Majles for Kashan, but in October 1952 went to Washington as Ambassador. Resigned after Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953. Returned to Persia, April 1954, and, although he renewed contact with his old National Front colleagues, lay low.

An intelligent, honest and able but embittered man. Left-wing views. Speaks French and English.

149. Sāleh, Dr. Jahānshāh

Born 1904, brother of Allāhyār Saleh. Educated at the American College, Tehran, and in America, where he qualified as a doctor in 1933. After post-graduate work in America he returned to Persia and obtained the headship of various hospitals. He is Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Tehran University, where he holds the professorship of anatomy and gynaecology, and is also Head of the Imperial Social Services Organisation. Served in the Finance Department before taking up medicine. Minister of Health under Razmara, June 1950-March 1951. Appointed Minister of Health under Zehedi, August 1954.

Not a very impressive Minister. Well-off and has an eye to the main chance. Untrustworthy. Married to an American. Speaks English and French.

150. Sayyāh, Hamid

Born in Isfahan 1886. Educated at Moscow. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1916. For some time a judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry. Commercial secretary at Moscow, 1922-26. A director of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Board, 1927-31. Chief of the Russian Section at the Ministry in 1932. In charge of the Eastern Department, 1933. Consul-General at Beirut, March 1934. Minister at Warsaw, June 1936.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1941, and was most helpful to us. Again Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942 until January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs again, December 1943. Minister of Communications in Sa'ed's Cabinet, March-August 1944. Accompanied Qavam to Moscow in February 1946. Appointed Minister to Moscow, March 1946. Returned October 1946 and became Minister of Commerce and Industry until June 1947. Recalled April 1949 and appointed Minister of Roads under Sa'ed, May 1949. Dropped, January 1950. Leader of the Persian side in the negotiations with the Soviets which led to the agreement on financial and frontier questions of December 1954.

Speaks French and Russian. An agreeable but not a brilliant personality. He knows too much about Russian methods to incline towards bolshevism, but he maintains fairly close contact with the Soviet Ambassador and his ambition is to become Ambassador to Moscow again. A good bridge player.

151. Sayyāh, Kāzem

Born about 1892 of a family of Turkish descent, sometimes calling themselves Sayyah-Sepanlu, and not related to Hamid Sayyah. Served in the Turkish army in the 1914-18 war, and taken prisoner by the British troops 1917. Then employed in the Caucasus, where he had various adventures in 1920 and 1921. A strong supporter of Sayyed Zia in the latter's *coup d'Etat* of 1921, and when the Sayyed fell he fled with him to Switzerland. Returned to Persia about 1923 and was imprisoned by Reza Shah for some time. Then employed under the Ministry of Industry in supervising the factories at Isfahan. Was also in charge of the Fine Arts Department at that place, 1940 to 1942. Fell under suspicion as pro-German owing to his relations with the factory engineers, most of whom were Germans. Transferred to Tehran, 1942, and put in charge of the glycerine factory. In 1943 employed by the Americans in the price stabilisation section of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed Head of the Organisation Section of the Ministry of Interior, 1944. As he was well known as a strong supporter of Sayyed Zia this appointment raised an outcry by all Left-wing elements and by those who favoured a policy of appeasement towards the Russians. Appointed a director of the Tehran Electricity Company, 1945. Director-General in Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, April 1947. 1949, employed in the Factories and Industries Department of the Seven-Year Plan. Head of the Cotton Company of the Seven-Year Plan, February 1951. Governor-General of Mazandaran, April 1951. Dismissed by Musaddeq in August 1951. September 1953, attached to the Seven-Year Plan Organisation and later appointed to the High Council of the Organisation.

A man of the world, capable of good work, and claims to be well-disposed towards us. Married to a Greek.

152. Sepāhbudī, Anushīrvān

Born in Tehran about 1890. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1907 and worked there till 1910. Vice-consul at Vladikavkaz in 1910, and thereafter served at different posts in the Caucasus till 1918. Then chief of a section at the Ministry; in charge of the Protocol Department in 1926. Minister in Switzerland 1929-33. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs July 1933. At the beginning of 1934 made minister at Rome, being accredited also to Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Ambassador at Moscow June 1936 until April 1938. Minister, Paris, July 1938 and also accredited to Spain in June 1939.

Ambassador to Turkey 1940. Minister for Foreign Affairs June-October 1945. Minister for Justice in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Ambassador in Paris August 1946. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by Qavam in June 1947, but did not take up his post. Recalled to Persia February 1948. Nominated Senator for Tehran and also appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Court February 1950. Accompanied the Shah to Pakistan March 1950. Resigned his post as Master of Ceremonies after the marriage of the Shah, February 1951. October 1953, appointed Ambassador to Egypt.

A man of no particular family, he made his way to the top while still young. Speaks French and Russian. Is quite well supplied with brains, but is often too lazy to use them. Rather timorous. On friendly terms with Shah. Hates Russians.

153. Sepehr, Ahmad 'Ali (Muvarekkeh-ud-Dauleh)

Born c. 1890. Educated in Tehran. In 1911 joined the Customs Department. 1914-18 employed in the German Legation. Then in the Ministry of Finance. In June 1942 he was mixed up in a German plot involving Qavam-us-Saltaneh and others. Was Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the beginning of 1944. In February 1944 became Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry. He was removed from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the summer of 1944 and remained without an appointment until August 1945, when he was appointed head of the Caspian Fisheries, a post which brought him into close touch with the Russians. Closely associated with Qavam-us-Saltaneh and joined the Cabinet as Minister of Commerce and Industry in March 1946, but in July dismissed from Cabinet and banished to Kashan. Permitted to return to Tehran December 1946.

For a time remained in retreat but reappeared in social life after Qavam's fall in December 1947. In June 1948 tried to get himself put up as Prime Minister but only obtained the support of a few unimportant newspapers and was never considered a serious candidate. Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran in October 1949. Chairman of the Board of the Caspian Fisheries late 1950 until March 1952.

Has a bad name for intrigue and lying. Well-informed politically and active in cultivating the younger generation. A friend of General Arfa's.

154. Shāhbakhtī, Muhammad, General (Sepāhbud)

Born about 1882, the son of a peasant inhabiting the village of Eshtehard, near Tehran, but since been heard to describe himself as a native of Azarbaijan possibly to cover up his humble origin.

He enlisted in the Cossack Brigade about 1901, distinguished himself by bravery in the field, and received a commission. In 1914 he was a captain. He attached himself to Reza Khan, whose influence secured him promotion to the rank of colonel in 1919. After the *coup d'Etat* of 1921 appointed to command the Āhan regiment of infantry. In 1925

promoted brigadier and given command of an infantry brigade in Tehran. In 1926 sent to command the Western Division, but recalled in the spring of 1928 for corruption; appointed shortly afterwards to command the Persian troops in Kurdistan. In December 1928 sent to command the troops in Fars, but superseded by General Shaibani.

Appointed to command the troops in Azarbaijan in 1932. Promoted to the rank of major-general in March of that year. Transferred to Ahwaz as General Officer Commanding, January 1939.

Appointed Commander of the Western Forces October 1941, with the rank of general (*Sepāhbud*). Controlled the Kermanshah area pretty thoroughly, ignoring completely the civil Governor, till he was transferred to Fars to quell the Qashqa'is in February 1943. He was not very successful in that campaign and after the defeat of the garrison at Semirum in July 1943 came to Tehran to report. Suspected of taking large bribes when at Kermanshah and again from the Qashqa'is.

Placed on the retired list, October 1943. Recalled to active list, 1947. Appointed Inspector of Troops in Azarbaijan, and early in 1949 Commander-in-Chief of Forces in Azarbaijan.

In April 1951 was sent to Ahwaz as Governor-General of Khuzistan and Commander of the Forces of the South in order to restore order after the riots in Abadan, but did not go to Abadan for two weeks. Recalled end May 1951, when he was appointed General Officer Commanding, Azarbaijan, staying most of the time in Tehran. February 1953, gaoled by Musaddeq and placed on retired list. September 1953-May 1954, Governor-General of Azarbaijan under Zahedi.

Though somewhat arrogant, he is a very charming old man and has a great reputation in Azarbaijan, where his activities and strength of character made it impossible for any strong Governor-General to co-exist with him. Dishonest and rich.

An almost entirely uneducated survival from the Cossack Brigade, resembling in appearance the more famous product of that corps, Reza Shah.

155. Shāhrukh, Bahrām

Born c. 1911. One of the six sons of Arbab Jamshid Shahrugh, formerly Zoroastrian Deputy in the Majles and murdered by order of Reza Shah in 1940. He has studied in Manchester and Germany and has visited England several times.

Married to a German, by whom he has three children. During the war he was in Berlin and constituted himself leader of the Persian colony there, displaying strong pro-German sympathies. For a considerable time he broadcast in Persian from Berlin radio, his talks being listened to eagerly in Persia on account of their eloquence and vitriolic invective against the British. In the latter days of the war he saw which way the wind was blowing, left Germany for Turkey and completely abandoned his German friends. After returning to Germany for several months he decided to settle in Persia. Was agent for various German firms.

In addition to his commercial activities Shahrugh has always taken a keen interest in politics, having managed to gain the confidence of many prominent politicians, and, on occasion at least, of the Shah. Appointed Director-General of Press and Propaganda by Sa'ed September 1949, and despite much opposition from the press and other circles held on to the post, in which he showed commendable energy and zeal until June 1950, when he was appointed a director of the Irrigation Board. Again Director-General of Press and Propaganda November 1950-January 1951. Shortly after Musaddeq came into power he was obliged to leave the country as a warrant was out for his arrest. He went to Germany

whence he imprudently returned in December 1951, being arrested on a charge of malversation of official funds. Sentenced and remained in gaol until Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953.

He is clever, confident and his chequered career shows him to possess courage and an unlimited capacity for intrigue. In spite of his European upbringing he is very much a Persian at heart. Of unlimited vanity. His political ambitions are much hampered by his being a Zoroastrian, although he is not trusted by many of his fellow-Zoroastrians. Now claims to be strongly pro-British and pro-American. An irrepressible opportunist.

Speaks excellent German, English and French.

156. Shams-e-Molk, Ārū, Asadullāh (Shāhāb-us-Dauleh), K.C.V.O.

A Qajar prince. Born about 1880. Educated in Persia. For many years employed in the Telegraph Department. Governor of Yazd in 1911. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, 1914-15. Minister of Public Works, 1915. Master of Ceremonies at the Court, 1922-25. Governor of Kermanshah, 1929. Recalled 1933 and Governor of Kurdistan, October 1934-April 1936.

Holds the dignity of K.C.V.O. received when in attendance on Ahmad Shah during his visit to London in 1919.

Governor-General of Fars early 1942, but was superseded in the following summer, without having accomplished much. Governor-General of Kermanshah late 1946-early 1948. Appointed Senator for Tabriz March 1954.

A rather pompous man, said to be a great intriguer; he is not averse to the society of foreigners, and probably regrets the good old days. Was a member of the Advisory Council of the Anglo-Persian Institute before the break in diplomatic relations.

Speaks English and French fluently.

157. Shā'yegan, Dr. Sayyed 'Ali

Born in Shiraz in 1904, son of Haji Sayyed Hashem. Doctor of Law. Educated in Tehran and Paris. In 1940 appointed Professor of Civil Law, Judicial Counsellor and Barrister. Dean of the Faculty of Law, Tehran University. In May 1946 appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Education. In October 1946, Minister of Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, June 1947 successful in first-stage Senate elections, Tehran. Deputy for Tehran in the 16th and 17th Majles. Member of the Mixed Oil Commission. Member of delegation formed to negotiate with the A.I.O.C., June 1951. Member of delegation to The Hague, June 1951; accompanied Dr. Musaddeq to the United Nations Security Council in October 1951; was again a member of the delegation to The Hague in June 1952. Elected to the 17th Majles for Tehran. Resigned with Musaddeq's other supporters after the "referendum," July 1953. Arrested August 1953, after Musaddeq's overthrow. In spring 1954 allowed out on parole for two months. Tried October 1954 and finally sentenced to ten years' hard labour. Deprived of his professorship.

One of the most fervent supporters of the National Front, he seems to suffer from bad nerves; his unbalanced fanaticism is to some extent due to his state of health. He has views tending strongly to fellow-travelling. Although generally regarded as dishonest he has the reputation of being a good teacher and still commands considerable respect amongst many University students.

158. Siāsi, Dr. 'Alī Akbar

Born 1893. Educated in France 1911 and stayed in France till the outbreak of the 1914 war. Took

a course in pedagogy. Employed as dragoman and Persian secretary at the French Legation from about 1917 to April 1941. At the same time he was instructor in psychology and law at the University of Tehran; later professor. Went to Europe 1927 and took a further course in France, obtaining a doctorate in philosophy. Married the daughter of the late Bayat, and so acquired wealth. One of the founders of the French-sponsored "Young Persian Club" in 1921.

Minister of Education August 1942. Resigned from Suhaili's Cabinet in August 1943. Minister without Portfolio in Bayat's Government 1944.

Member of Persian delegation to San Francisco Conference March 1945. Visited United Kingdom after the conference.

Invited by Soviet Government to visit Tashkent for the twentieth anniversary of the Science Academy there December 1945.

Minister of Education in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Resigned April 1948 after being attacked in the Majles for saying that the University should be free not only from political but also from religious control. Arrested after the attempted assassination of the Shah at the University February 4, 1949, but immediately released. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Sa'ed, January-February 1950. Leader of Persian delegations to various cultural conferences, including U.N.E.S.C.O. June 1951. Rector of Tehran University from early 1943 until early 1955.

An intelligent man with a perfect command of French. Always polite and agreeable to talk to, but a "trimmer." His attitude undoubtedly gave the Tudeh Party an excellent opportunity to infiltrate the University.

159. Suhaili, 'Ali

Born about 1890. Educated partly in Russia and talks Russian well, also French and a little English. His career has been in various Government administrations. In January 1931 was appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Roads and Communications under Kazemi. In September 1933 he was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Under-Secretary, when Kazemi was appointed Minister. Suhaili had also served as chief Persian representative on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Directorate. Several times Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of his chief. Minister in London, March 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs, May 1938, but dismissed in July, owing to the late Shah's displeasure over a telegram concerning the Paris Exhibition. Governor-General of the Vilth Usten (Kerman), February 1939. Ambassador, Kabul, October 1939.

Became Prime Minister, rather unexpectedly, in March 1942, after having been Minister for Foreign Affairs in Furughi's Cabinet from September 1941 (during which time he was the Persian signatory of the Tripartite Treaty of February 1942). His Cabinet fell in July 1942, partly owing to lack of support from the Court and the army. Again Prime Minister on the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh in February 1943, again unexpectedly. Proved himself once more a hard worker, but carried little weight in the country and had to maintain himself by various "combinations" and political deals with Majles Deputies.

During 1944-45 he was frequently a strong candidate for the Premiership, but was suspected by many of being too well-disposed towards the Russians. Went to Egypt in the summer of 1945 and was made member of the Persian delegation to the United Nations in January 1946.

Was tried in February 1948 for illegal interference in the elections for the 14th Majles and on

other political charges, but was acquitted. Minister without Portfolio in Hakimi's Cabinet, March 1948. Appointed Ambassador to Paris, June 1948. Also accredited as Minister at Lisbon, January 1950. Transferred as Ambassador to London, August 1950. Dismissed, December 1951, by Musaddeq. Remained in the United Kingdom and Europe until September 1953. Again Ambassador to London, April 1954.

A reasonable, matter-of-fact person, with a business-like manner. Hard-working and approachable. Well-disposed towards us but an inveterate intriguer. A gambler and discreetly dishonest. Not held in much respect by his compatriots. Connected with Taqizadeh and Hakim-ul-Mulk.

His Caucasian wife (there is a Persian one from which he is separated) has to be seen to be believed. She enters into his intrigues as well as apparently running some of her own.

160. Sururi, Muhammad

Born about 1895. Educated at the Tehran School of Political Science. Served in various Government Departments. Has been judge in the Tehran courts, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice. Director of the Agricultural Bank, 1942, but removed from that post June 1943. Acting Minister of the Interior, January 1944. Minister of Interior in Sa'ed's Cabinet of August 1944 and again in Bayat's Cabinet in November 1944-June 1945. He did well, but incurred the displeasure of the Tudeh Party when he arrested the worst of the professional toughs of Tehran and imprisoned them in Bandar Abbas.

Minister of Justice under Hakimi, December 1947-June 1948. Elected Senator from Tehran, October 1949. Chairman of Administrative Purge Commission, July 1949, but resigned on grounds of ill-health, November 1949. Member of Mixed Oil Commission, May 1951. Musaddeq, after dissolving the Senate in August 1952, offered Sururi the Ministry of Interior. He declined but accepted post of Head of Supreme Court which he retained until Musaddeq fell in August 1953.

Business-like and said to be honest. Lacking in real initiative, but has a strong reputation for doing his duty firmly and without regard to any private considerations.

Speaks French.

161. Tabā, Dr. 'Abdul Husain

Born in Tehran about 1911 of a Na'in family. Educated in medicine in England and qualified in medicine and surgery after eight years in Birmingham and at Guy's Hospital. Real name is Tabataba'i but not related to Sayyed Zia. Employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as a doctor, 1940-42, and since practising in Tehran. Elected to the 15th Majles for Na'in, which he also represented in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949, and in the 16th Majles. Later became Head of the Health Department of the State Railways and in November 1953 took up a job with the World Health Organisation in Geneva.

A go-ahead man who seems keen on his profession, but as a Deputy acquired a reputation for being highly irresponsible. Honest and well liked. Married the youngest daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh.

162. Tabātabā'i, Sayyed Muhammad Sādeq

Second son of the late Sayyed Muhammad Tabataba'i who was a prominent figure in the Nationalist movement of 1906 to 1910. No relation of Sayyed Zia. Born in Tehran about 1880. Elected to the 3rd and 4th Majles. In close touch with pro-Germans during the

war of 1914-18. Emigrated to Turkey in 1916. Returned in 1918 and co-operated with Sulaiman Mirza in forming the Socialist Party. During this phase he was in close touch with the Soviet Embassy. Ambassador to Turkey 1924-27.

Was more or less under arrest for about ten years in Tehran until the fall of Reza Shah 1941. Gradually entered political life after that and initiated and fostered the *Mellat* (Nation) Party.

Head of the Election Committee for Tehran 1943-44, and himself elected Deputy.

Elected President of the 14th Majles. An opium addict for thirty years, he frequently found it difficult to keep awake when he was presiding.

Unsuccessful candidate for Tehran in elections for 15th Majles, but elected from Tehran to the Constituent Assembly, of which he was elected President April 1949. Member of the Regency Council during Shah's journey to Europe July 1948. Chairman of the Electoral Supervising Committee for the first 16th Majles elections in February 1949, which were cancelled. In new elections was himself elected, March 1954, elected Senator for Tehran.

An incorrigible intriguer he stands close to the Shah to whom he has always offered bad advice. His "liberal" ideas are not to be taken seriously. He and his friends pride themselves on their patriotism and the pursuit of the middle way between Britain and the U.S.S.R. For some reason he is generally regarded as a "national" figure. Reputation for honesty and influential in the bazaar. In his dotage and in ill-health.

Speaks French.

163. Tabātabā'i, Sayyed Zia-ud-Din

Born about 1893. Son of the late Sayyed Ali Yazdi Tabataba'i. Edited the newspaper *Kad* (Thunder) in Tehran in 1915-16. Played a considerable political rôle in 1917-18. Sent to Baku by Vusuq-ud-Dauleh in 1919 as Persian representative to Caucasian Azerbaijan. While in Baku he issued a long statement entitled "A New Epoch in the History of Persia," a spirited defence of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 which, although it had not been ratified by the Majles, he endeavoured to bring into force when he became Prime Minister. Returned to Tehran in May 1920. Carried out *coup d'État* with the help of Reza Khan and the Cossack Brigade in February 1921, and seized power. Appointed Prime Minister with full powers by Ahmad Shah on March 1, 1921, and effected numerous arrests, particularly amongst the ruling classes. His reforms were too radical for the country and the time, and he fell from power in June, fleeing the country. He was in the tobacco business while exiled.

Took a prominent part in the Pan-Islamic Congress at Jerusalem in 1933.

In 1942, having by that time developed a very prosperous farm near Gaza in Palestine, he began to think of returning to Persia, and Muzaffar Firuz began with great energy and indiscretion to run a newspaper campaign in his favour in Tehran. He published a letter from the Sayyed in which the Russians were praised in fulsome language. His name came forward a good deal in the Tehran press during 1943, and quite a number of Deputies in the 13th Majles seem to have favoured his return. The Russians and the Shah, however, were steadfastly opposed to it, the former because they mistrusted Firuz's letter, and the latter through fear that the Sayyed might become a dictator. However, he returned to Tehran in September 1943, and was elected to the 14th Majles from Yezd. Caused annoyance by insisting on wearing a woollen hat of Caucasian style, and alienated some of his friends by an appearance of stubbornness and obstinacy.

Founded a political party which in the summer of 1945 was officially launched under the name of *Eradah-e-Melli* (National Will). His followers claimed that the party numbered about 9,000 in Tehran at the end of 1945. Was the particular bugbear of the Tudeh and the Russians, who never tired of vilifying him as the arch-enemy of his country and the principal tool in Persia of imperialists and reactionaries (some of this propaganda has stuck). During the near-panic which prevailed in Tehran in November-December 1945, as a result of the approach of the Azarbaijan Democrats towards Qazvin, many leading politicians and Deputies began seriously to consider that Sayyed Zia should be exiled from Persia as a sop to the Russians.

His continued opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh's pro-Soviet gambits in the beginning of 1946 resulted in his arrest and imprisonment, but this was changed to house arrest a year later and shortly afterwards he was released. Early in 1948 the Shah tried without success to enlist his support for his project of constitutional reform. Thereafter Court and Government circles evinced great hostility towards him and he was widely accused of disloyalty and even of pro-Soviet sympathies. There was, however, no concrete evidence to support these charges. On the other hand, Sayyed Zia was known to have criticised the Shah's "unconstitutional" behaviour. But he remained firmly opposed to communism and the Russians in general.

After the attempt on the Shah's life in February 1949 he made his peace with His Majesty and has seen him regularly since. As a result the number of his enemies has dwindled. Was elected in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949, but resigned from the electoral college. Was considered an alternative choice to Razmara for the premiership in June 1950. On the resignation of 'Ala, April 1951, the Shah agreed to his appointment but the Majles unexpectedly gave a "vote of inclination" to Musaddeq. Was one of the first to take up opposition to Musaddeq in summer of 1951 and for a time seemed a likely successor to him. But, in view of the Shah's discouraging attitude Sayyed Zia felt obliged to withdraw into semi-retirement on his farm north of Tehran, where he has kept himself well informed through his many loyal friends in various walks of life.

Scrupulously honest, religious, widely read and travelled, of active habits and practical outlook. Sayyed Zia-ud-Din is an unusual Persian. Patriotic, courageous and a genuine reformer. Originally a journalist by profession he has become a successful and progressive farmer. His main faults are obstinacy and impatience of criticism; and he has not not always been a good judge of men. He speaks English, French, Arabic, Turkish and Turki.

164. Tāheri, Dr. Hādi

Born at Yezd about 1888. Son of a mullah. Formerly a landowner and proprietor of various concerns at Yezd. A great rival of the Navvab family of Yezd. Elected to the Majles on various occasions. In the 13th Majles was considered one of the leading members. Served on the Committee of the Anglo-Iranian Relief Fund, 1943, and was helpful in providing local knowledge. Was largely responsible for the success of Sayyed Zia-ud-Din in the Yezd elections of 1943, thereby incurring the dislike and distrust of the Shah. Accused of various peculations at Yezd, but nothing was proved.

In the 14th Majles he was again one of the most influential Deputies. Bitterly anti-Soviet he worked hard to maintain the Majles majority against Soviet pressure.

Arrested November 1946 for political activities against Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released February

1947. Appointed Minister without Portfolio under Sa'ed November 1948. Resigned September 1949, to stand for the 16th Majles, to which he was elected from Yeazd. Supported Musaddeq in 16th Majles in order to ensure his own re-election in 17th. In July 1953, after many other Deputies had resigned in support of Musaddeq's dissolution of the Majles following the so-called referendum, he also resigned. Did not stand for 18th Majles.

Though very slow in speech and manner he is extremely astute and has a profound knowledge of his colleagues and particularly of their weak points. Though patriotic he would not allow his patriotism to interfere unduly with his personal interests in Yeazd. He has a congenital aversion to the obvious course and delights to achieve his objectives by devious means through the agency of others. Was and may to some extent still be regarded as a mouth-piece of the British Embassy, and tends to attribute to us ideas which we do not hold, in order to further his own ends.

165. Taqizadeh, Sayyed Hasan

Born in Tabriz about 1880, the son of a small preacher. He was educated in his native town, where he showed great eagerness to acquire knowledge. In his early youth he was an ardent Nationalist, and was connected with the Nationalist movement in Persia from the beginning. He was elected to the 1st term of the Majles and was one of its most prominent members.

In the *coup d'Etat* of 1908 Taqizadeh took refuge in His Majesty's Legation and as a condition of his amnesty went to the United Kingdom. Returned late 1908 and played prominent part in 2nd Majles. Elected to 3rd and 4th Majles *in absentia*. He stayed in Europe and America during the whole period from 1914 to 1923 and was for years in Berlin, where he edited a paper called *Kaveh*. He negotiated the Perso-Soviet Commercial Treaty in Moscow in February 1921, and finally returned to Persia in 1924. Member of 5th and 6th Majles. Appointed Governor-General of Khurasan in January 1928; he was recalled in May and became Persian Minister in London until April 1930, when he returned to Persia and became Minister of Roads and Communications. In August 1930 he was appointed Minister of Finance in addition.

Taqizadeh fell from grace in September 1933, for reasons which are obscure. The Shah is said to have suspected him of intrigue with Majles members in connexion with the purchase of gold. He was, however, soon re-employed as minister in Paris.

Recalled from Paris in August 1934, but obtained prolonged leave of absence and did not return to Persia. Appointed Persian representative at the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in September 1935. Appointed minister in London by Furughi 1941 and became ambassador in 1944. Headed Persian Delegation to the United Nations in London in January 1946 and ably presented the Persian case when the Security Council considered the Perso-Russian dispute about Azarbaijan.

Elected Deputy for Tabriz in 15th Majles. As an old friend he helped Hakimi when the latter became Prime Minister in December 1947.

In a speech in the Majles in January 1949 he said that he signed the 1933 A.L.O.C. Concession under emphatic orders from Reza Shah and against his better judgment. This brought into being a vociferous school of thought that the concession was therefore invalid and thereby provoked the demand for its revision.

Elected to the Constituent Assembly April 1949, but did not attend because of "illness." Elected Senator from Tehran October 1949 and President of the Senate on its inauguration in February 1950.

Re-elected President, April 1951 and April 1952. Attended 1954 Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge. June 1954, elected Senator for Tabriz. Absented himself from the vote on the 1954 oil agreement.

He is married to a German and talks German fluently. He speaks English and French less well.

There are now few traces of the fire-eater of the early 1900's and Taqizadeh is now noted for his extreme caution and unwillingness to adopt and speak up for any definite policy. His political "group" *Am'iyun* includes Hakim-ul-Mulk and Dr. Taheri.

166. Tehrani, Sayyed Jalal-ud-Din

Born c. 1896. Higher education in Belgium followed by practise of astronomy. A famous astronomer and astrologer who first appeared on the political scene when he became Minister without Portfolio under Qavam-us-Saltaneh just before the latter's fall November-December, 1947. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Minister without Portfolio under Sa'ed November 1949. Transferred to Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones January 1950 and retained under Mansur, April-June 1950. Appointed guardian of Meshed Shrine, June 1951. Governor-General of Khurasan, October 1951-February 1952. September 1953, appointed minister to Belgium.

Intelligent even if a little unbalanced. Close to the Shah. Reputation for honesty. Apparently a firm believer in the myth of British omnipotence and omniscience in Persian affairs. Belgian wife.

167. Vakil, 'Ali

Born in Tehran about 1894. A prosperous Tehran business man. He has held seats on Tehran Municipal Council and in Tehran Chamber of Commerce. He was Deputy for Tehran in the 10th and in the 15th Majles. Attended Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952.

An active, resourceful and enterprising man with a finger in many pies. He is shrewd and tends to work behind the scenes. Most of his business is with United Kingdom manufacturers and he has supported British interests fairly well. Friendly, but not to be trusted too far. His reputation is not as bad as that of some other merchants, such as Nikpur. Close friend of General Zahedi's. Speaks good French and some English.

168. Vāliābār, Abul-Fath, K.B.E. (Heshmat-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1885. A member of the Tabataba'i family of Tabriz and a step-brother of Dr. Musaddeq's. A chamberlain of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. Private Secretary to Muhammad Ali Shah before he came to the throne, and continued in that post until 1909. An open enemy of the Nationalists. Governor of Resht in 1915. Minister of War 1916-17. Governor of Kerman 1918-19. His help to the British in 1914-18 war earned him a K.B.E. Minister of the Interior 1920. Imprisoned by Sayyed Zia. Governor-General of Khurasan May 1924; resigned the next year owing to differences with the military authorities. Took no further part in politics during Reza Shah's time.

Attained an appointment as a kind of chamberlain at the court in 1943. Appointed Governor-General, Azarbaijan, April 1949. Represented Tabriz in Constituent Assembly 1949. Surrendered Governor-Generalship on being appointed a Senator for West Azarbaijan, February 1950. March 1954, appointed Senator for Tabriz.

Has owned large properties near Tabriz, but has spent most of his substance. He is a heavy gambler. An old-timer, not much respected and with a reputa-

tion for dishonesty, who spends most of his time at the Shah's Court. Speaks French.

169. Varasteh, Muhammād, 'Ali

Born c. 1890. An official of the Ministry of Finance for many years. Later Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior and in 1942 was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. 1944-46 Governor-General of Isfahan. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948. Joined Hazhir's Cabinet as Minister of Finance September-November 1948. Governor-General, Kerman, August 1949-February 1950. Minister of Health under Mansur April 1950, but transferred to the Ministry of Finance later the same month. Resigned shortly before fall of Cabinet June 1950.

Minister of Finance under Ala, March 1951, and continued in same office under Musaddeq May 1951. Led the Persian delegation to the A.L.O.C. negotiations June 1951 and to the Stokes negotiations in August 1951. Resigned from Ministry of Finance end of 1951, but returned March 1952 until September 1952. November 1952-March 1953, Governor-General of Fars. Appointed Senator for Tehran, March 1954. Absented himself from the vote on the 1954 oil agreement.

A man of weak character and little influence. Unimaginative and obstinate.

170. Yazdān Panāh, Murtezā, General (Sepahbud)

Born about 1891; son of Mirza Ali Akbar, a small shopkeeper in the village of Saradasht. In 1907 he entered the Cossack Cadet School. Received his commission in 1912, showed strong pro-Russian sympathies, and consequently gained rapid promotion. Made lieutenant-colonel in 1919 and colonel in 1920. During the whole of his service he was intimate with Reza Khan, and accompanied him on the march to Tehran in February 1921, which culminated in the *coup d'Etat*. Was promoted general and given command of the Central Division. In July 1927 he fell from favour, and was put under arrest for an unknown reason, but released very soon. In autumn of 1928 he was appointed inspector of the gendarmerie, but was superseded in 1930 and left without any active command.

Inspector of Infantry in 1932. Commandant of Tehran Cadet College, 1933.

On the fall of Reza Shah he became Chief of the General Staff and worked as a loyal supporter of the young Shah.

Appointed adjutant-general to the Shah autumn 1943, a post he still retains. Member of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee February 1944.

Leader of military contingent chosen to represent Persia at Victory Parade in London, June 1946. Minister of War in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948; Minister of Roads under Sa'ed, September 1949; accompanied the Shah to the United States November-December 1949; transferred to Ministry of War January 1950, and retained this post under Mansur April-June 1950. Then Head of the Shah's military secretariat and latter's Adjutant-General until May 1951, when he became Minister of War under Musaddeq. Dropped in July 1952, when Musaddeq re-formed his Cabinet. Then returned to his jobs at the Court. October 1953, relinquished the military secretariat post to General Gilanshah. Remained Adjutant-General although he was in the United States during the winter of 1953-54. June 1954, went to the United States with an official sinecure.

He is active, relatively honest, genial and staunchly patriotic, but rather stupid, supporting Musaddeq at Court for well over a year. Full of his own importance. Believed to be an opium-smoker.

Speaks French and Russian and has a Russian wife.

171. Yazdi, Dr. Murtezā

Born about 1900, son of an influential political Mullah of Tehran. Educated first in Tehran and then studied medicine in Germany, where he is reported to have joined the Communist Party. Often represented Tudeh workers in negotiations between them and their employers. In early months of 1946 made a tour of the south and south-east in an effort to whip up Tudeh support and was responsible in large measure for the troubles in Isfahan in April of that year. A member of the Directing Committee of the Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, 1946. Minister of Health under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August-October 1946, when he used his position to fill important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

After the attempt on the Shah's life he was tried with other Tudeh leaders and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement April 1949. Escaped with other Tudeh leaders December 1950. Believed to be a member of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party. Present whereabouts unknown.

Considered a good doctor and has a reputation for honesty and firmness of character.

172. Zāhedī, Fazlullāh (Basir-e-Divān), Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Hamadan about 1890. His father was for many years in charge of the late Naser-ul-Mulk's property at Hamadan. Joined the Constitutional movement and was wounded. Joined the Cossacks and thus came into contact with Reza Khan, under whom he served. Commanded the troops at Shiraz in 1922. In 1924 commanded the troops sent to Khuzistan, and helped to arrest the Sheikh of Muhammerah in 1925. Transferred to Resht in 1926, where he commanded the Northern Independent Brigade. Recalled to Tehran December 1928. Commanded the Road Guards 1929. Arrested and degraded for neglect of duty in 1929. Soon after he was pardoned and reinstated. Chief of Police 1931. Relieved of this post after a few months owing to the escape of some prisoners from prison. Dismissed from the army in 1931. Turned his attention to business and became a partner in the "Kazadema" Ford agency. Reinstated in the rank of general 1932 and made aide-de-camp to the Shah. Member of the Iranian commercial delegation to Russia in April 1935, and subsequently visited Central Europe.

Commanded troops at Isfahan 1942, and gradually took charge of all local departments of Government; proof was found that he was working with the Germans, and he was arrested by British troops and taken out of Persia in the autumn of 1942. Released in 1945. Appointed Inspector of the Forces of the South, July 1946. Placed on the retired list June 1949. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Hamadan autumn 1949. Appointed Chief of Police November 1949. Appointed Senator for Hamadan February 1950 while remaining Chief of Police. Forced to resign from this post May 1950, largely owing to the activities of Razmara, Chief of the General Staff.

Joined Ala's Cabinet as Minister of the Interior April 1951 and continued in this office under Musaddeq May 1951. Resigned August 1951 following fighting between Tudeh and Dr. Baqn's party which he, in his other capacity as Acting Chief of Police, failed to prevent. In August 1952, strongly criticised Musaddeq in the Senate which Musaddeq dissolved soon afterwards. Zahedi then took *bast* in the Majles. Lay fairly low after this until he again took *bast* in July 1953. In August 1953, appointed Prime Minister by the Shah. His first attempt to depose Musaddeq failed, but a few

days later (28th Mordad) he was swept into power by a popular uprising in favour of the Shah.

More of a politician than a soldier, but not sufficiently sensitive to political feeling. Not particularly intelligent and rather stubborn. Has a long record of dishonesty. Being capable of generosity he was not unpopular with the troops under his command. As Chief of Police showed himself active and enterprising and gained a certain popularity. Pleasure-loving and a womaniser. Courageous and loyal to his friends to a point where his loyalty sometimes complicates his problems as Prime Minister.

In spite of his faults he succeeded, as few other Persians probably would, in restoring order and stability in the chaos left by Musaddeq, re-establishing friendly relations with the Western Powers (including resumption of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom) and in carrying the 1934 negotiations with the oil consortium through to a reasonable conclusion. He has also had the good sense to pick men of the calibre of Abdullah Entezam and Ali Amini for the key posts of Foreign Affairs and Finance respectively, and to let them get on with their jobs.

Married the daughter of Husain Pirnia (Mu'tamen-ul-Mulk) in 1927, but divorced her and subsequently married one of the rich Eftehadih family.

173. Zand, Ebrāhīm

Born about 1890. Educated at the Cadet College at St. Petersburg and studied law in France. Towards the end of the 1914-18 war became an active member of the *Musavat* Party in Azarbaijan, and in 1919 became a member of the short-lived Azarbaijan Government. After its fall he went back to France, and a few years after returned to Persia, where Davar employed him in the Ministry of Justice as an adviser. He was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and in 1938 became a member of the board of the National Bank. On the appointment of A. H. Ebtehaj as governor he left the bank and was employed at Court as Comptroller of the Royal Accounts. Minister of War in Suhaili's third Cabinet, December 1943. Minister of War in Sa'ed's Cabinets March and April 1944, in Bayat's Cabinet November 1944, Hakimi's Cabinet May 1945, and Sadr's Cabinet June 1945. Governor-General, Isfahan, January 1949-February 1950, when appointed Minister of the Interior by Sa'ed. Continued in this office under Mansur for a few weeks and then appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan April 1950. Replaced Ebtehaj as governor of the National Bank July 1950. Ambassador to Turkey August 1951 until his appointment in October 1953 as Ambassador to Italy.

Suffers from ill-health and has made frequent trips to Palestine for treatment. A patriotic man with a background of military training of the Russia of Tsarist days. Had sound ideas about eliminating corruption in the army but lacked courage to enforce his will. This bore out his general reputation for being honest but not a very capable administrator.

Married to the sister of Farajullah Bahrani. Speaks Russian extremely well, probably better than Persian. One of his daughters is married to Prince Abdur Reza.

174. Zanganeh, Dr. Ahmad Ebrāhīm

Born c. 1909. Director of Industrial and Mining Bank and for a time managing director of this Bank. A member of the Iran Party. He had been

connected with the Planning Organisation of the Seven-Year Plan for some time before being appointed a member of the Council of the Plan on its creation in May 1949. Resigned to become Minister of P.T.T. under 'Ala, April 1951. Managing-Director of Plan Organisation under Musaddeq, May 1951, until latter's overthrow in August, 1953, when Zanganeh was gaoled by Zahedi. Released in November 1953, when he joined a commercial firm.

Has shown keen interest in economic development schemes but apparently has not very much drive. Well-educated but more theoretical than practical. Left-wing tendencies like other members of the Iran Party. A bit slippery.

175. Zarin-Kafsh, 'Ali Asghar

Born about 1885, of a Tehran family of Kurdish descent. Educated at the Political School in Tehran, and employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in subsidiary posts for several years. 1923-24 was a head of section. Served as "Chef de Cabinet" to Furughi while the latter was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Subsequently posted to Washington, where he spent more than a year as secretary to the Persian Legation. Recalled to Tehran in about 1927, and served in the Ministry of Justice for a time when the Ministry was being fundamentally re-formed. He was also a judge of the Cour de Cassation. Then transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, where he became Under-Secretary and was Acting Minister January to September 1933.

Proceeded to England as commissioner of the Persian Government with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in December 1933, with his wife and two children. Honorary counsellor to the legation in London 1937.

Returned to Persia December 1940. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice from 1941. In 1943 was Acting Minister for a short time. Minister of Finance 1944. Appointed chairman, Industrial and Mining Bank, February 1948. Replaced towards the end of the year. In 1950, on his return to Persia from England, where he had a serious operation, was appointed to the supervisory board for the Seven-Year Plan.

Speaks English and French.

Zarin-Kafsh is honest and socially most pleasant. Has always been friendly and helpful. In 1945 he joined Sayyed Zia's *Eradeh-e-Melli* Party and has a very high regard for the Sayyed. Has a good reputation generally.

176. Zirakzādeh, Engineer Ahmad

Born c. 1904. Studied construction engineering at the Ecole Polytechnique, Paris. At one time chief engineer to the Persian Navy. Engineering adviser to Ministry of Finance 1942.

Closely associated with the National Front in its early days and took part in the Palace with Dr. Musaddeq in protest against the conduct of 16th Majles elections in Tehran, October 1949. Editor of National Front organ *Jebheh*; considered to be on the Left-wing of the National Front and to have Tudeh sympathies. Under-Secretary at Ministry of National Economy May 1951. Resigned December 1951 to stand for 17th Majles, to which he was elected from Tehran. Resigned from Majles with Musaddeq's other followers in July 1953, after the "referendum." Spoke violently against the Shah in the closing days of Musaddeq's régime, August 1953. Then went into hiding.

Tendency to fellow-travelling. Dishonest.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EP 1012/4

No. 28

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN PERSIA

Mr. Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received August 13)

(No. 88. Confidential) Tehran,
August 9, 1955.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a revised report of leading personalities in Persia which supersedes the one enclosed with Sir Roger Stevens's despatch No. 11 of the 20th of January, 1955.

I have, &c.

D. A. H. WRIGHT,
Chargé d'Affaires.

[Generally speaking *e* represents the short *e* sound (met), *i* the long *e* (meet); *a* the short *a* (cat) and *ā* the long *a* (father).]

Enclosure

H.I.M. The Shah:
Muhammad Rezā Shāh Pahlavi.

The Pahlavi Royal Family

1. Adham, Dr. Hasan (Hakim-ud-Dauleh).
2. 'Adl, Ahmad Husain.
3. 'Adl, Engineer Majid.
4. Afshār, Rezā.
5. Alā, Husain, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vezareh).
6. 'Alam, Asadullāh.
7. Alavi, Dr. Hasan.
8. 'Alemi, Dr. Ebrahim.
9. 'Ameri, Javād.
10. Amini, Dr. 'Ali.
11. Amir 'Alāi, Shams-ud-Din.
12. Amir-Taimur Kalāli, Muhammad Ebrāhīm.
13. Ansāri, Abdul Husain Mas'ud.
14. Arāmesh, Ahmad.
15. Arāsteh, Nāder.
16. Ardalān, Dr. 'Ali Quli.
17. Ardalān, Amānullāh (Hājī Ezz-ul-Mamālek).
18. Ardalān, Nāser Quli.
19. Arfa', Hasan, Major-General (*Sarlashgar*).
20. Asadi, Salmān.
21. Azodi, Yadullāh (Amir A'zam).
22. Bakhtiār, Abul Qāsem Khān.
23. Bakhtiār, Aqā Khān.
24. Bakhtiār, Dr. Shāhpur.
25. Bakhtiāri, Jahānshāh Samsām.
26. Bakhtiāri, Murtezā Quli Samsām.
27. Baqā'i, Dr. Muzaffar.
28. Bāyandur, Ghulām Husain, Brigadier-General (*Sarrip*).
29. Bayāt, Murtezā Quli (Sahām-us-Sultān).
30. Behbahāni, Mirzā Sayyed Muhammad (*A'yatullāh*).
31. Behniā, 'Abdul Husain.

32. Burujerdi, Hājī Aqā Husain (*A'yatullāh*).
33. Busheliri-Dahdashti, Aqā Javad (Amir Humā'yun).
34. Dashti, 'Ali.
35. Divānbaigi, Aqā Rezā 'Ali.
36. Ebtehāj, Abul Hasan.
37. Ebtehāj, Ghulām Husain.
38. Emāmi, Jamāl-ud-Din.
39. Emāmi, Nezām-ud-Din.
40. Emāmi, Dr. Sayyed Hasan (*A'yatullāh*), (*Emām Jun'eh* of Tehran).
41. Entezām, 'Abdullāh.
42. Entezām, Nasrullāh.
43. Eqbāl, 'Ali.
44. Eqbāl, Dr. Manuchehr.
45. Esfandiāri, Fathullāh Nuri.
46. Esfandiāri, Musā Nuri (Muvaffaq-us-Saltaneh).
47. Eshraqi, Amir Qāsem, *Muhandes* (Engineer).
48. Eskandari, 'Abbās.
49. Eskandari, Iraj.
50. Fallāh, Dr. Rezā.
51. Farhudi, Dr. Husain.
52. Farmand, Hasan 'Ali (Zā-ul-Mulk).
Farmānfarmāyān (see Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirza).
53. Farrukh, Mehdi (Mu'tasem-us-Saltaneh).
54. Fāteh, Mustafā.
55. Fātemi, Mehdi Mushir (Emād-us-Saltaneh).
56. Firuz, Muhammad Husain, Major-General (*Sarlashgar*).
57. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirzā (Farmānfarmāyān).
58. Firuz, Muzaffar.
59. Furuhar, Abul-Qāsem.
60. Furuhar, Ghulām Husain.
61. Garzan, 'Abbās, Major-General (*Sarlashgar*).
62. Ghaffāri, Hasan 'Ali (Mu'aven-ud-Dauleh).
63. Gilānshāh, Heydāyat, Major-General (*Sarlashgar*).
64. Gulshā'iyyān, 'Abbās Quli.
65. Hā'erizādeh, Sayyed Abul Hasan.
66. Hai'at, 'Ali.
67. Hakimi, Ebrahim (Hakim-ul-Mulk).
68. Hasibi, Engineer Kazem.
69. Hedāyat, Abdullāh, General (*Sepahbud*).
70. Hedāyat, Ezzatullāh.
71. Hedāyat, Khusrāu Bahman.
72. Hejazi, Abdul Husain, Major-General (*Sarlashgar*).
73. Hekmat, 'Ali Asghar.
74. Hekmat, Rezā (Sardār Fākher).
75. Heshmati, 'Abbās.
76. Human, Dr. Ahmad.
77. Issayeff or (Issayan), Ramon.
78. Jahānbāni, Amānullāh, General (*Sepahbud*).
79. Jam, Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk).
80. Jazāyeri, Dr. Shams-ud-Din.
81. Kaibān, Mas'ud.
82. Kalvān, Amir.
83. Kāmbakhsh, 'Abd-us-Samad.
84. Kāshāni, Sayyed Abul-Qāsem.
85. Kāzemi, Bāqer (Muhazzab-ud-Dauleh).
86. Keshāvarz, Faridun, Dr.

87. Khājah-Nuri, Ebrāhim.
88. Kurus, 'Isa (Esau).
89. Lankarāni, Shaikh Husain.
90. Makki, Husain.
91. Mansur (Rajab) 'Alī, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk).
92. Mas'ud, Akbar (Sārem-ud-Dauleh).
93. Mas'udi, 'Abbās.
94. Matin-Daftari, Dr. Ahmad.
95. Mehrān, Dr. Mahmud.
96. Mesbah-Fatemi, 'Alī Naqī.
97. Mesbāhzādeh, Dr. Mustafā.
98. Mufakkhkham, Dr. Jamshid.
99. Muqaddam, Hasan, Major-General (Sarlashgūr).
100. Musaddeq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddeq-us-Saltaneh).
101. Mu'tamedī, 'Alī. Muvarrekhd-Dauleh (see Sepehr, Ahmad 'Alī).
102. Nabil, Fazlullāh.
103. Nafisi, Habib.
104. Nafisi, Hasan (Musharraf-ud-Dauleh).
105. Nafisi, Si'īd.
106. Naisārī, 'Abbās Qulī.
107. Najm, Abul-Qāssim.
108. Nakha'i, Muhammad.
109. Namāzi, Hāj Muhammad.
110. Nāser, 'Alī Asghar.
111. Nasr, Taqī.
112. Navāh, Saifullāh.
113. Nikpay, E'zaz ('Azizullāh).
114. Nikpur, Abul Husain.
115. Nurzād, Ghulām Rezā.
116. Qanātābādī, Sayyed Shams-ud-Dīn.
117. Qaraguzlu, Hussain Ali.
118. Qaraguzlu, Muhsen.
119. Qashqā'i, Khusrāu.
120. Qashqā'i, Malek Mansur.
121. Qashqā'i, Muhammad Husain.
122. Qashqā'i, Muhammad Nāser.
123. Qavām, Ebrāhim (Qavām-ul-Mulk).
124. Qezelbūsh, 'Aziz.
125. Quds, (Nakha'i), Husain.
126. Rādmānesh, Dr. Rezā.
127. Rahnamā, Zain-ul-'Abidin.
128. Ra'īs, Muhsen.
129. Rashidiān, Asadullāh (and brothers).
130. Rustā, Rezā.
131. Sadiq, Dr. 'Isā (Sadiq-e-A'lam).
132. Sadr, Sayyed Muhsen (Sadr-ul-Ashraf).
133. Sa'ed (Marāghch), Muhammad (Sā'ed-ul-Vezāreh).
134. Sajjādī, Dr. Muhammad.
135. Sāleh, Allāhyār.
136. Sāleh, Dr. Jahānshāh. Sardār Fākher (see Hekmat, Rezā). Sārem-ud-Dauleh (see Mas'ud Akbar).
137. Sayyāh, Hamid.
138. Sayyāh, Kāzemi. Sayyed Ziā [ud-Dīn] (see Tabātābā'i).
139. Sepahbudi, Anushirvān.
140. Sepehr, Ahmad 'Alī (Muvarrekhd-ud-Dauleh).
141. Shahbakhti, Muhammad, General (Sepahbud).
142. Shāhrukh, Bahram.
143. Shams-e-Mulkārā Asadullāh (Shahāb-ud-Dauleh), K.C.V.O.
144. Shā'yegan, Dr. Sayyed 'Alī.
145. Siāsi, Dr. 'Alī Akbar.
146. Suhaili, 'Alī.
147. Sururi, Muhammad.
148. Tabā, Dr. 'Abdul Husain.
149. Tabātābā'i, Sayyed Muhammad Sādeq.
150. Tabātābā'i, Sayyed Ziā-ud-Dīn.
151. Tāheri, Dr. Hādī.
152. Tāleqāni, Engineer Khalil.
153. Taqizādeh, Sayyed Hasan.
154. Tehrani, Sayyed Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

155. Vakili, 'Alī.
156. Vālātābār, Abul-Fath, K.B.E. (Heshmat-ud-Dauleh).
157. Vārasteh, Muhammad 'Alī.
158. Yazdān Panāh, Murtezā, General (Sepahbud).
159. Yazdi, Dr. Murtezā.
160. Zāhedi, Fazlullah (Basir-e-Divān), General (Sepahbud).
161. Zand, Ebrāhim.
162. Zanganeh, Dr. Ahmad Ebrāhim.
163. Zarin-Kafsh, 'Alī Asghar.

Pahlavi, Muhammad Rezā Shāh

The eldest son of Reza Shah by the daughter of Taimur Khan; this lady was the ex-Shah's chief consort and known as the *Malekeh* (Queen). Now known as the Queen Mother she is still active in Court intrigues.

Born on October 26, 1919, and proclaimed *Vajihād*, or heir-apparent, on January 1, 1926. Educated in Tehran under tutors at first, and then in Switzerland at La Rosey, under the direction of Dr. Mu'adab Nafisi. Returned to Persia in the spring of 1936. Speaks excellent French and English.

Betrothed in June 1938 and married Princess Fauzieh, sister of King Farouk of Egypt at Cairo on March 15, 1939. The marriage was preceded by a very pompous journey through Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The principal wedding festivities took place in Tehran in April, on the couple's arrival, and were attended by distinguished delegations from many countries. The only offspring is one daughter, Shahnaz, born in 1940, and now being educated in Europe. Queen Fauzieh left for Egypt in 1943 and never returned. Her divorce by mutual consent from the Shah was announced on November 19, 1948, and attributed to the fact that her health did not permit her to live in Persia.

On October 11, 1950, he was betrothed to Miss Suraya Esfandhari, the 18-year-old daughter of a minor Bakhtiari khan and a German mother. The marriage, postponed because of the bride's ill-health, took place on February 12, 1951. There has so far been no issue.

Muhammad Reza succeeded to the throne when his father, who was very fond of him but had kept him very much under his thumb, abdicated in September 1941. From the first he took a considerable part in public affairs and he showed an unmistakable sign of his intention to exert his influence in State matters when in 1946 he conceived a strong antipathy to Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Eventually it was due to his active intervention that Qavam fell from power at the end of 1947.

His private visit to Britain in July 1948 was a considerable success and he created a good impression.

On February 4 (15 Bahman), 1949, an attempt was made on the Shah's life. His escape was miraculous and created a profound impression. The Shah's bearing on this occasion greatly enhanced his prestige. He then decided to introduce the constitutional reforms, including the formation of the Senate, which he had been contemplating for over a year and in which he considered the primary remedy for the country's deplorable condition lay, and the Constituent Assembly, in May 1949 granted him the right to dissolve either Chamber.

In November 1949 the Shah left for a visit to the United States which lasted for six weeks. From March 1-16, 1950, he visited Pakistan. An event of great personal importance to himself took place in May 1950 when, in an impressive ceremony, he attended the re-burial of his father, Reza Shah, in a mausoleum especially constructed at the shrine of Shah 'Abdul 'Azim at Rey, near Tehran.

An official visit to Jordan, planned for April 1951 returning King Abdullah's visit of July-August 1949 was postponed at the last minute because the Shah had an attack of appendicitis for which he was successfully operated on.

During the Musaddeq régime the Shah showed himself irresolute and timid, and allowed Musaddeq to build himself up at the Shah's expense. In July 1952, after Musaddeq had resigned and been replaced by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, it was primarily the Shah's refusal to agree to the latter's proposal to dissolve the Majles, and his withdrawal of the troops from Tehran, which led to Qavam's resignation after two days in office, and to Musaddeq's triumphal return. In late February 1953 the Shah was on the point of leaving the country but was dissuaded from doing so by a popular demonstration in his favour. From this time his position *vis-à-vis* Musaddeq became steadily weaker and he was increasingly attacked and ridiculed in the pro-Musaddeq press. However, in August 1953 he did nominate Zahedi to replace Musaddeq, but when Zahedi's *coup d'Etat* (Musaddeq having refused to resign) failed the Shah fled the country. A day or two later August 19 (28 Mordad), a popular uprising overthrew Musaddeq and the Shah returned soon afterwards to be greeted with great national enthusiasm.

On December 5, 1954, the Shah and Queen Suraya left for a two-months' visit and holiday in the United States, followed by visits to the United Kingdom and Germany, returning on March 12, 1955.

He then put considerable pressure on General Zahedi (*q.v.*) to resign from the premiership, and eventually the latter agreed to ask for leave to go abroad for medical treatment which the Shah interpreted as resignation. On April 6, without consulting Parliament even informally, he appointed Mr. Husain Alā (*q.v.*) Prime Minister. This action and the consequent drift in affairs, currently attributed to the weakness of the Shah's resolution, led to his being openly criticised by many Persians.

The Shah is clever and well-informed; he takes his duties seriously and is genuinely anxious to do his best for the country though with an emphasis on ways which will increase his own power and popularity, e.g., strengthening of army and improvement in workers' status. He suffers from a surfeit of advice, listens too easily to all comers, of whatever quality, but at the same time mistrusts many of his advisers. He is, however, in personal matters (e.g., the trip abroad in the winter of 1954-55) strongly influenced by Queen Suraya to whose every whim he seems willing to pander. He is a keen all-round sportsman and a good amateur pilot. He is also a very hard worker. He has a lively apprehension of Soviet designs, is convinced of the need for collaboration with the West and genuinely convinced that neutrality is no safeguard for Persia. Although he probably still regards the British as wiser than the Americans, he attributed his father's fate to the British and in his heart still suspects our intentions. His fear that the British might one day bring about his removal from the throne may have diminished somewhat.

He is to some extent torn between a partiality for liberal institutions and methods, which is no doubt the product of his Swiss education, and a desire to transform the economic and social conditions of this corrupt and backward country. After Musaddeq's overthrow the Shah's self-confidence grew noticeably and, after asserting himself over the oil settlement, his trip abroad in 1954-55 and his dismissal of General Zahedi, he began a period of more direct rule. The results by July 1955 were unpromising and there was little sign either of resolution in the face of difficulties or of the organising ability necessary to transmute good intentions into practice.

The Pahlavi Royal Family

The following are recognised members of the Pahlavi Royal Family:—

Princes

(i) Shāhpur (Prince) Ghulām Rezā

Born April 13, 1923.

He was married in January 1948 to Huma A'lam, daughter of Dr. A'lam and granddaughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh, and divorced her in 1954. There is one son of this marriage. Made a second lieutenant in the army in 1947 after passing out from the Officers' Training College in Tehran. Went on a cavalry course in France, July-October 1949. Now holds the title of Inspector of the Army. Has, apparently, an amiable disposition but is generally regarded as stupid.

(ii) Shāhpur 'Abdur Rezā

Born August 19, 1924.

He returned to Tehran in January 1948 after several years at Harvard University. Went to United States again in 1948 for medical treatment but returned to Persia on the passage of the Bill relating to the Seven-Year Plan Organisation for which he was appointed honorary president, May 1949.

Began his military training at the Officers' School at Tehran, May 1950, and has since taken less interest in the Seven-Year Plan. Soon fell out with Abul Hasan Ebtehaj, on the latter's appointment as Director-General of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation in 1954.

Rather better educated than the Shah's other brothers but intellectually not in the same class as the Shah himself. Polite and sociable but likes money and is not averse to receiving it. He and the Shah dislike and distrust each other—Prince Abdur is constantly suspected of intriguing against the Shah. Compared with other members of the Royal Family his public activities are not mentioned much in the press. Married Pari Sima, daughter of Ebrahim Zand and divorced from previous husband, Engineer Hushang Afshar, October 12, 1950.

Son born in March 1952 and a daughter in January 1955.

(iii) Shāhpur Ahmad Rezā

Born September 17, 1925.

Mentally not normal. Married to Simin Bahrami of Tehran, who bore him a daughter, March 10, 1949. Divorced his wife in 1954.

(iv) Shāhpur Mahmud Rezā

Born October 3, 1926.

Educated in the United States at Michigan University where he is reported to have worked hard at a course in industrial economics. Returned to Tehran, November 1950. Pleasant and amiable.

(v) Shāhpur Hamid Rezā

Born July 4, 1932.

An unruly boy, who three times ran away from school in the United States. Finished his schooling in 1948 and is now in Tehran.

Married Minu Daulatshahi, March 15, 1951, and divorced her in 1954. There is one son and one daughter of this marriage.

Unreliable and too fond of money.

Princesses

(i) Shāhdokht (Princess) Shams

Born October 18, 1917.

Married first Feraidun, son of Mahmud Jam, and later divorced him; then Mehrdad Pahlbud, an amiable creature of cultivated tastes and artistic inclinations, by whom she has two sons and one daughter.

The Princess is president of the Red Lion and Sun Society (equivalent of the Red Cross). Has travelled in the United States and also in Europe, seeing hospital and welfare work.

Conveyed the Shah's proposal of marriage to Suraya and brought her back to Tehran from Paris, October 7, 1950, but is no longer on good terms with her.

With her husband, whose father was a musician, she makes a serious and creditable attempt to act as a patron of the arts and of charity. Shy and very taken up with her children and plays little part in Palace intrigues compared with her sister or brothers.

(ii) Shāhdukht Ashraf

Born October 24, 1919, a twin sister of the Shah and seems to have inherited more of her father's characteristics than her brother.

Married, first, 1937, Ali Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk, divorced 1942; one son, Shah-Ram; then Ahmad Shafiq, an energetic Egyptian of good family, who amongst other things has been Director of Civil Aviation. By him she has one son (born 1948) and a daughter (born 1950).

The Princess visited Moscow in 1946 and the United States and United Kingdom in 1947 to study social welfare organisations. Visited India and Pakistan in November 1948 and Europe November 1949-February 1950. When in Persia she plays an active part in social and charitable work.

Formerly much criticised for interference in political and administrative matters. The Shah was obliged by Musaddeq to send her away and she left for Switzerland in September 1951. Returned to Tehran July 1952 and left again with her family for Europe on August 2, 1952, after the short-lived Premiership of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Returned a few days before Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953, but the Shah did not approve and she left again almost immediately. Came back for a few months in January 1954 and again in late October on Prince Ali Reza's death, but left for Europe pointedly on Queen Suraya's birthday, June 23, 1955.

She was violently anti-Musaddeq and a supporter of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. She is very critical of the Shah's weakness and with her mother tends to make Queen Suraya's life difficult.

(iii) Shāhdukht Fātemeh

Born October 30, 1929.

Went to school in the United States. Returned to Tehran 1948. Accompanied Princess Shams to the United States again May 1949 and there married an American student, Vincent Lee (now known as Ali) Hillyer, April 1950, without the Shah's permission. Deprived of Royal prerogatives, but on remarrying by Moslem rites was apparently forgiven. Both arrived in Persia in December 1950 but left again June 1951. Came back again for a few months in September 1953 and for short visits since. They live in California, where her husband is in business. She was reported in July 1955 to be suing for divorce on the grounds of mental cruelty.

The following, in addition to the Shah, are the offspring of Reza Shah's first wife, the present Queen Mother:—

Princess Shams,
Princess Ashraf.

Reza Shah's second wife was Malekeh Turān Daulatshāhi, who was of Qajar stock on her father's side. She bore Ghulam Reza, but was divorced after three months. (In 1942 she married a Tehran merchant named Zabihullah Malekpur.)

Reza Shah's third wife was Esmat-ul-Mulk, a Qajar Princess of the Daulatshahi family. She bore him four sons and a daughter, viz.:—

Prince 'Abdur Reza.
Prince Ahmad Reza.
Prince Mahmud Reza.
Prince Hamid Reza.
Princess Fātemeh.

There is also a daughter, Hamdam-us-Saltaneh, who appeared at Court during 1950 and who has been granted the title of Her Royal Highness. She is the offspring of an earlier wife of Reza Shah who was divorced before he married the Queen Mother. This daughter first married Colonel Ataba'i, Master of the Stables, and secondly Dr. Amir Aslani from whom she has also been divorced.

Prince 'Ali Reza, Reza Shah's second son who was killed in an air accident in October 1954, left a son, 'Ali, born in 1947. His mother is of Franco-Polish origin and her marriage to Prince 'Ali Reza was not officially recognised. It is still not clear whether the boy is in any way recognised as a member of the Royal Family.

1. Adham, Dr. Hasan (Hakim-ud-Daulah)

Brother of Dr. Abbas Adham. Obtained a medical degree in France and speaks French.

Was a Deputy for Tehran in 13th Majles. A member of Tehran Municipal Council, August 1943. Chairman of Electoral Supervising Committee for re-held 16th Majles elections in Tehran, January 1950. Minister of Health under Musaddeq, May to September 1951. Then Minister without Portfolio until March 1952 when he became President of the Supervisory Committee for the 17th Majles elections. Soon resigned from this and resumed his private practice.

2. 'Adl, Ahmad Husain

Born in Tabriz c. 1895, son of the late 'Adl-ul-Mulk. Educated partly in France.

Minister of Agriculture from March 1942 until February 1943 showing himself friendly and helpful. He was then tried in the Officials' Court on charges of misappropriation of funds but was acquitted. Appointed to the Supreme Economic Council in April 1945. Became Minister of Agriculture in November that year and again under Qavam in June 1947. Chairman of the Provisional Organisation of the Seven-Year Plan in January 1949, until May 1949 when he was appointed a member of the Supreme Council of the Plan. He was successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Chairman of High Council of Seven-Year Plan, April 1950. Held this post throughout the Musaddeq régime. August 1953-April 1955, Minister of Agriculture under General Zahedi. Also temporarily in charge of the Seven-Year Plan, July-September, 1954.

Well versed in agricultural affairs but has a strong reputation for dishonesty in spite of his riches. Speaks French and a little English.

3. 'Adl, Engineer Majid

Born c. 1911. Brother of Ahmad Husain 'Adl. Director of Karaj Agricultural College during Russian occupation (1943-45). Subsequently head of Animal Husbandry Department of Ministry of Agriculture. Then first Director of Animal Husbandry Institute (from early 1950), which he is organising on progressive lines. Keenly interested in his work and, although not really forceful, can be surprisingly determined; engaging personality.

Educated in France but speaks fair English and favours British methods. Very friendly and co-operated well with B.M.E.O. experts in pre-Musaddeq times.

4. Afshār, Rezā

Born at Urumich (now Reza'iyeh) about 1888. Joined the Ministry of Finance as a young man, and during Mirza Kuchik Khan's rebellion in Gilan acted as financial agent to him. Served also under Sir P. Cox, who paid him well. Soon after the war he got away with certain funds from the Finance Office in Resht. With these he bought carpets and took them to America for sale. Returned to Persia in 1921, full of American ideas and education. Joined the staff of Dr. Millsbaugh, the American financial adviser. A staunch supporter of the Pahlavi régime; elected to the 5th, 6th and 7th Majles. Governor of Gilan in 1929. While at that post he organised the Gilan Import and Export Company, which was founded in opposition to Russian trade monopoly methods. As a result he incurred the hostility of the Russian interests there. Governor-General of Kerman in 1931. Minister of Roads in February 1932. Resigned in the following July, being unable to build the Chalus road fast enough for the Shah. Governor of Isfahan September 1932 to December 1933. Was put under surveillance in Tehran in 1935 owing to supposed inefficiency (perhaps complicity) in connexion with the Bakhtiari plots in 1934. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment and permanent exclusion from Government service in June 1936 for accepting a bribe when Minister of Roads.

Governor-General of Isfahan, May-June 1944, until Supreme Court of Appeal decided he was ineligible for office because of his conviction in 1936. Secretary to the Iranian Airways, December 1944, now managing director. Deputy for Reza'iyeh in 16th Majles but his credentials were queried and he was replaced by Muhsen Afshar. Deputy for Tabriz in 18th Majles. Outspoken opponent of 'Alā Government (1955).

Speaks English fluently. Full of ideas and energy. An opportunist. Pro-American bias.

5. 'Alā, Husain, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vezareh)

Born about 1884. Son of the late Prince Abu-us-Saltaneh, for many years Persian Minister in London. Educated at Westminster School, where he seems to have received rough treatment which resulted in an anti-British bias, at any rate for the next few years. Created C.M.G. in 1902, when he accompanied his father on a special mission to London for the Coronation of King Edward VII. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1906, his father being then Minister. He remained as "chef de Cabinet" to various Ministers until 1915. Appointed Minister of Public Works in January 1918 and continued to direct that Ministry during the Cabinet of Samsen-us-Saltaneh, which was in power from May to August 1918 and abrogated the Treaty of Turkmanchai.

After accompanying the abortive Persian mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918 he became Minister at Madrid (1919) and then at Washington (1920). Returning to Persia in 1925 he alternated office at home with headship of missions abroad, being Minister at Paris 1929 to 1933 and at London 1934 to 1936. President of the National Bank in 1941 and Minister of Court 1942.

Appointed Ambassador to Washington in August 1945 when status of Persian Legation there was raised to that of an Embassy. Was very active in giving publicity in the United States to the Persian case over the Azarbaijan problem and showed ability

presenting Persia's case to the Security Council in March and April 1946.

Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by Sa'ed in February 1950 and continued under Mansur in April 1950 resigning with him in June 1950.

Minister of Court, February 1951. Appointed Prime Minister following assassination of Razmara, March 1951, but resigned on April 27, 1951, because of preparation by the Majles Oil Commission of the Oil Nationalisation Bill without reference to him. Remains Minister of Court. Used his influence at Court in favour of retaining Musaddeq as Prime Minister until as late as March 1953. April 1955, appointed Prime Minister by the Shah to replace Zahedi. A few days later went to France for an operation, returning in June.

Married Fātemeh Khanum, the only daughter of the late Abul Qasem Khan Qaraguzlu (Naser-ul-Mulk), Regent of Persia, in July 1927. Mrs. Alā was one of the first of her generation to leave off the veil.

A hard worker and a patriot; intelligent and well-read, but in internal politics indecisive and chameleon-like; interested in the literature of many countries and once quite a good pianist. Has a perfect command of English and speaks good French. Whatever his feelings towards us, he seems to have a high regard for British education. His son went to Harrow and is now (1955) at Edinburgh University.

6. 'Alam, Asadullāh

Born c. 1920. Son of the late Shaikat-ul-Mulk, who was hereditary Khan of Birjand and the Qa'enat, he has inherited much of his father's influence over the Baluchi tribes of East Persia. In 1947 appointed Governor-General of Persian Baluchistan, in which post he showed commendable energy and efficiency. Deputy for Birjand in the Constituent Assembly, 1949. Left Baluchistan to become Minister of the Interior under Sa'ed, January 1950. In the Cabinet reshuffle of February he was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture. Continued in this post under Mansur, April 1950, with whom he resigned, June 1950. Minister of Labour under Razmara until his assassination in March 1951. While Minister of Labour assisted in the formation of a central organisation to unify the rival non-Communist trade union federations and co-ordinate their activities. Had previously been engaged in drawing up a report on the Shah's lands and when the Shah decided to distribute the Pahlavi Foundation lands in January 1951 he became a member of the Commission supervising this work and later in charge of it, although his own estates in Birjand are a typical example of absentee landlordism. A close personal friend of the Shah. His position at Court was resented by Musaddeq who virtually forced the Shah to rusticate him to Birjand in November 1952. April 1955, appointed Minister of the Interior under Alā.

Friendly and fairly helpful, but rather a weak character; and his service at Court has not helped him to become any more robust. More of a Royal errand-boy than a politician. Married to a daughter of Qavam-ul-Mulk. Speaks good English and French.

7. 'Alavi, Dr. Hasan

Born 1910 in Shiraz. Studied medicine in Bombay and London where he held post of ophthalmic surgeon at St. Thomas's and other English hospitals. He was recalled to Persia by Reza Shah in 1938 and appointed Court Physician and consulting specialist to the Persian army. In March 1947 he was promoted to brigadier (honorary).

Hard-working and a patriot; intelligent and well-read with an almost perfect command of English. A sensitive and serious-minded Persian Nationalist who deprecates the failings, especially peculation, of his countrymen. A great admirer of British institutions, he helped to found the United Kingdom Universities' Society of the then Anglo-Persian Institute and the Persian branch of the British Medical Association in the Middle East. Has a considerable private practice and is commonly acknowledged to be one of the best ophthalmic surgeons in Persia.

A friend of the Shah, it was on his insistence, he says, that he stood for Bushire for which he was elected to the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Deputy for Bushire in 16th Majles. Prominent in the affairs of the Iran group in this Majles. A member of the Majles Oil Commission, he was very helpful in keeping us informed of developments there. He is an admirer of Sayyed Zia-ud-Din.

The abuse heaped on him by the National Front because he did not follow their line in the oil question was more than he could stand and after the passage of the oil nationalisation laws he became inactive politically. He is still disabused with politics but fairly well informed.

8. 'Ālemi, Dr. Ebrāhīm

Born 1909. Graduated Tehran University 1933 and afterwards studied law at Paris University where he qualified as Doctor of Law. Returned to Persia in 1940 and, after completing military service in 1942, became a professor in the Law Faculty of Tehran University. In 1944 was member of the Organisation Committee of the then Ministry of Commerce and Industry and has also been head of legal advisers' committee in the Ministry of Finance. Technical adviser to the Iran Insurance Company and member of the Board of Directors for three years. Helped to draft Persian Labour Law. Minister of Labour under Musaddeq, January 1952, until latter's fall in August 1953. Then gaoled by Zahedi for a few weeks.

Speaks fluent French. Outwardly friendly, but was completely subservient to Musaddeq.

9. 'Āmeri, Javād

Born in Tehran, 1895, from a Semnan family. Educated in Persia, and Paris where he studied law. Entered the service of the Ministry of Justice in 1914, and was for many years assistant to the French judicial adviser attached to the Ministry of Justice. Was a professor in the law school. In 1928 appointed president of the Tribunal of Commerce. President of the court of first instance in Tehran, 1931-34. Director of the Department of Legislation in the Ministry of Justice in 1934. Went to Bagdad with Fathullah Nuri Esfandiari in December 1935 as legal and technical adviser in the abortive negotiations about the frontier, &c., with Iraq. Judicial Counsellor in charge of the Advisory Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1938. Administrative Director-General August 1938 and Under-Secretary January 1939 in that Ministry.

In charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the time of the invasion, 1941. Minister of the Interior in Suhaili's Cabinet, 1942, and later Minister of Justice; in the former post he was a disappointment, in the latter he was more at home but was soon replaced. Elected to the 14th Majles from Semnan, December 1943. Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh on his mission to Moscow in February 1946. Re-elected to 15th Majles, 1947. Deputy in Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections, autumn 1949. Deputy for Semnan in 16th and 17th Majles. Member

of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950. June 1955, appointed a member of a three-man committee to examine all laws affecting judicial matters.

A man of some influence in his capacity as technical adviser on legislation. Having been trained by the French legal advisers here, his ideas of law are somewhat different from those held by British lawyers.

Conscientious and hard-working, with a lawyer's capacity for rapid assimilation of detail. Amiable but weak. Speaks French.

10. Amini, Dr. 'Alī

Fourth son of Muhsen Amini (Amin-ud-Dauleh). Born at Tehran in 1903. Educated in Persia and in France. Studied law at Paris. Married a daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh. Served for some years in the Customs Administration; in 1936 appointed acting head and in 1939 head of the Customs, remaining until the autumn of that year, when he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance as one of the Minister's assistants.

Secretary to Qavam-us-Saltaneh (his wife's uncle) when Prime Minister in 1942. Sent by the Persian Government to India in 1945 to study the possibilities for developing trade between India and Persia and to examine the foreign exchange control question. Chairman of the board of directors of the Industrial Bank, November 1946. Member of Democrat Party of Iran. Elected to 15th Majles for Tehran. President of Exchange Control Commission in 1949. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Minister of National Economy under Mansur, April 1950, but resigned when the Cabinet began to get into difficulties. Appointed Minister of National Economy by Musaddeq, December 1951 until July, 19, 1952. *i.e.*, Qavam's abortive Premiership, and not re-appointed on Musaddeq's return to power. Appointed Minister of Finance under General Zahedi in August 1953 and again under Alā in April 1955. Transferred to Ministry of Justice in May 1955.

Until he became Minister of Finance he was generally regarded as brilliant, but somewhat irresponsible, lacking in courage and slightly corrupt. However, he proved himself determined, courageous and immensely hard-working. The skill, energy and flexibility which he showed in his conduct of the oil negotiations won him great esteem with his fellow negotiators. Though he is too quick-witted, glib and impatient to be popular in Parliament, he nevertheless ranked as one of the outstanding members of the Zahedi Government. Would like to be Prime Minister and is preparing the ground thoroughly. The Shah seems to mistrust him. Amini is certainly not as straightforward as he would like to appear.

Speaks very good French. His widowed mother is one of the richest landowners in Persia.

11. Amir 'Alī', Shams-ud-Dīn

Born about 1896. Senior official in the Ministry of Agriculture until his appointment as Acting Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh February 1946. Appointed Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August and again in October 1946. Dropped when the Cabinet was re-formed in June 1947. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949, in which month he also took *baxr* with Dr. Musaddeq in the Royal Palace as a protest against the conduct of the 16th Majles elections.

Governor-General, Gilan, February 1951. Minister of Justice under Alā, March-April 1951. Brought in by Musaddeq as Minister of National Economy, May 1951, at the end of which month he was also appointed Acting Governor-General, Khuzistan, and

the head of a Governmental mission to take over the A.I.O.C. of which he was a bitter critic. Made Minister of the Interior August 1951. Minister of Justice December 1951, and Minister without Portfolio specially responsible for Khuzistan February-May 1952. Ambassador to Belgium July 1952, until dismissed by Zahedi Government in August 1953. Returned to Persia, June 1954. May 1955, arrested and deported to the provinces by Alā Government as a counter to increased Musaddeqi activity.

Quiet man with few friends. Appears inoffensive and ineffectual but showed some determination and even fanaticism in his dealings with the Oil Company in the summer of 1951. A little unbalanced. Left-wing tendencies verging on fellow-travelling. Speaks French.

12. Amir-Taimur Kalāli, Muhammad Ebrāhīm

Born about 1895. Member of a well-known Khurasan tribe. Educated in Tehran. Elected to the Majles in the time of Reza Shah, and again for Meshed in the 14th Majles election, 1943. Vice-President of the Majles, 1944.

Was on Foundation Committee of Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society, March 1944. In 1945 he showed an inclination to turn to this Embassy for support against Russian pressure.

Arrested August 1946 under Military Law Ordinance. Released after a short detention. Elected Deputy for Meshed in 15th Majles, 1947. Represented Meshed in Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Unsuccessful candidate in 16th Majles elections at Meshed. Minister of Labour under Musaddeq, May to December 1951. Then Minister of Interior and Acting Chief of Police until January 1952, when he resigned to stand as a candidate for the 17th Majles. Unsuccessful. Returned to public life March 1954 as Deputy in 18th Majles for Gonabad.

A rich landowner who smokes opium. A talkative demagogue, fond of working himself into passionate indignation about subjects which he does not understand. Opposed the Tripartite Treaty of 1942 and voted against the 1954 agreement with the oil consortium. Being vain, responds to flattery. Speaks a little French.

13. Ansāri, Abdal Husain Mas'ud

The eldest son of the late Ali Quli Ansari (Mushaver-ul-Maralek). Born 1899. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920. Served for a number of years in Persian Embassy in Moscow as secretary, and his rapid promotion was largely due to his father's influence. Counsellor at Moscow in 1927 and held that post till he was transferred to Tehran in 1931. Head of the Economics Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in September 1933. Went to Germany as a member of the Persian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Head of the Third Political Section (dealing with British affairs) 1936. Head of the Protocol Department November 1937. Consul-General, Delhi, May 1938. Minister to Sweden 1941. Returned to Tehran in 1944 and was appointed Head of the Tripartite Pact Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vice-President of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society March 1945. Transferred to Isfahan October 1947. While Governor-General of Isfahan was markedly friendly to His Majesty's Consul and to British Council there. Not a strong Governor-General, he made no secret of his wish to get back to diplomatic life. His smooth manner and lack of interest in local politics alienated some of the people among whom he worked.

Appointed Ambassador to Kabul March 1949. Governor-General of Fars December 1951-November 1952. Minister at The Hague February 1953-April 1954; and August 1954 appointed Ambassador to Karachi.

Married a Russian in Moscow; the lady was suspected of being a spy but died in Berlin in 1936, leaving a son. Married a Persian in 1937.

Speaks excellent Russian and French, German and English.

14. Ārāmesh, Ahmad

Born about 1902. Has held various Government posts. June 1944 was in charge of all Accounts Departments in the Ministry of Finance factories. Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry June 1946—resigned September 1946. Set up the Labour Inspection administration in Khuzistan in June 1946 and became Secretary-General to the Democrat Party of Iran July 1946. Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister October 1946, when he resigned from his party post. Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry late October 1946. Minister of Labour and Propaganda December 1946. In this post was strongly opposed by many of his Cabinet colleagues because of his efforts to collect party funds by irregular means, which he was suspected of turning to his own advantage. His Ministry's programme of social reform was also extremely unpopular with certain Right-wing members of his party.

Omitted when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in June 1947. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Founded, February 1951, a new party, *Melli'yun-e-Demokrat*, restricting the powers of the monarchy, but this has made no headway. January 1955, appointed to supervisory board of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation and in July publicly attacked A. H. Ebtehaj, Head of the Plan.

Affable and energetic but garrulous, unreliable, immature and lacking political sense. Speaks fair English and French.

15. Ārāsteh, Nāder

Born about 1893, son of a Qajar prince. Governor of Pahlavi in 1928. Deputy-Governor of Azarbaijan in 1930-32. Governor of Khuzistan May 1932-August 1933. Has also served in the Persian Legation in London. Appointed minister to Poland December 1933. Appointed first Persian Minister to the Argentine, presented his letters in October 1935. Recalled to Tehran October 1936, the post being abolished. In charge of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a short while in 1937. Minister at Berlin August 1937. Accredited also to The Hague in 1939. Recalled from Berlin May 1940. Governor-General of Mazandaran January 1942 and of Gilan January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs November 1944 in Bayat's Government and for Communications under Hakimi in May 1945 and then in Sadr's Cabinet June to November 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Isfahan, May 1946, withdrawn October 1946.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Hazhir June 1948, retained the portfolio under Sa'ed November 1948, but exchanged it for that of Roads in March 1949. Ambassador to Moscow June 1949-August 1954. In July 1955 due for retirement.

Of unimpressive appearance, but friendly and intelligent. Speaks French, English and Russian.

16. Ardālān, Dr. 'Alī Qulī

Born about 1900; brother of Amanullah Ardalan. Served mostly under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in various posts from 1922. Secretary at Washington

1932 where he had a dispute with Ghaffar Jalal, the Minister. Counsellor at Vichy after the collapse of France in 1940. Returned to Tehran 1942 and was in charge of the United Kingdom Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for more than a year, fulfilling his duties with efficiency. Counsellor at Ankara 1943. Under-Secretary for Ministry of Foreign Affairs in December 1948. Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs on appointment of Ala February 1950. Head of Persian delegation to U.N. August 1950-May 1955. Then appointed to the High Political Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Very helpful to us when at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the 1940's. Speaks English, French and German.

17. Ardalan, Amānullah (Haji Ezz-ul-Mamalek)

Born about 1888. Son of Haji Fakhr-ul-Mulk of Kurdistan. Educated at Tehran. Elected a Deputy to the 2nd Majles through his father's influence. Served first in the Ministry of Finance. An active member of the Democratic Party and elected to the 3rd Majles from Kermanshah. A pro-German during the war of 1914-18, he left Persia for Turkey at that time. After the war he became financial agent for Kerman through bribery, and made a good thing out of the post. Financial agent for Fars 1922-23. A member of the 5th Majles. A close friend of Sulaiman Mirza and the Socialists. Minister of Public Works in Sardar Sepah's Cabinet of October 1923. Resigned April 1924. Again employed under the Ministry of Finance in Kerman and Fars. Governor of Astarabad 1928; of Luristan, &c., in 1932; of Gilan in 1933, and again of Luristan in 1934, of Bushire and the Gulf Ports 1935; and Governor-General of Kerman in May 1936. Recalled in August 1937.

Governor-General of Azarbaijan (West) at the time of the invasion 1941. Fleed precipitately to Tehran when the Russians advanced, fearing that revenge would be taken on him for various anti-Russian measures which he had been ordered to take. Then Director-General of Ministry of Finance and Governor of Isfahan in 1942. Minister of Public Health in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Minister of Finance in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Sa'ed's Cabinet March 1944, but dropped in August 1944. Returned to Cabinet under Bayat in November 1944, resigned April 1945. Minister of Justice in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945 to January 1946. Appointed Minister of Roads and Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948. Governor-General, Fars, June 1948. Appointed Minister of Finance in Hazhir's Cabinet of June 1948 but declined to leave Fars. Deputy for Sanandaj (Kurdistan) in Constituent Assembly April 1949 and successful in first stage Senate elections there in autumn 1949.

Appointed Minister of the Interior in the reshuffle of Mansur's Cabinet April 1950. Resigned with Mansur, June 1950. Minister of Interior under Razmara, November 1950, until latter's assassination in March 1951. Next appeared as Deputy in 18th Majles for Sanandaj; Vice-President of Majles, April 1955. Persian Amir-ul-Haj for Mecca in 1955.

Is the sort of professional politician who is always likely to turn up as a candidate for ministerial office. His reputation for honesty is not particularly good, but it is not as bad as some; not a very forceful personality, but knows the ropes. Old friend of Sayyed Muhammad Sadeq Tabataba'i. Observes the fast in Ramazan. Speaks French and a little English.

18. Ardalan, Nāser Quli

Born in Tehran 1896. Brother of Amanullah and Ali Quli Ardalan. Educated at Tehran and in Belgium. Spent a year in London learning English. Returned to Persia 1915 and entered the service of the Ministry of the Interior, where he served for fifteen years, including several periods as Governor of different provinces. Subsequently employed in the National Bank since 1931.

Deputy for Sanandaj in the 14th, 15th and 16th Majles.

A member of Mixed Oil Commission May 1951, and of that body's three-man delegation to Khuzistan June 1951, where he joined the board of N.I.O.C. August 1952. April 1953 Government Inspector at the National Bank. Then Governor-General of Azarbaijan until Musaddeq's fall in August 1953. At present financial adviser to the Ministry of Finance.

Intelligent and capable. More of an official than a politician. Speaks French.

19. Arfa', Hasan, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890, the eldest son of the late Prince Reza Arfa' (Arfa'-ud-Dauleh). Educated in Russia and France. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1907 as secretary to the Persian Consulate at Tiflis. Secretary at the Persian Legation at St. Petersburg in 1908. Joined the gendarmerie in 1911; and has been in the army since then. Commanded the crack cavalry *Pahlavi* Regiment in 1931. Served as military attaché in London for a short time, and was a prominent officer in the new army. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in 1934. In 1935 on the General Staff in charge of a training school. Persian delegate to the Zahedan Conference in 1935, where, no doubt under strict orders, he took an extremely nationalistic and anti-British standpoint.

Officially attended Atatürk's funeral in 1938. Promoted brigadier-general April 1939. Inspector of Cavalry 1942. Commanded the 1st Division 1943.

Appointed Chief of the General Staff December 1945. Worked hard to resist *Tudeh* activities and had some success in organising resistance to the Azerbaijan Democrats and their independent Government of Tabriz. In consequence he incurred enmity of the pro-Russian groups and when Qavam took office in February 1946, with the task of restoring good relations with Russia, Arfa' was at once relieved of his post. Arrested April 1946 by order of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released October 1946. In 1947 started the "Asia Society," aiming at co-operation between Middle East States. Minister of Roads under Ala, April 4-27, 1951.

Speaks French, English, Turkish and Russian. Married to an Englishwoman, *née* Bewicke. Well read, particularly in history. Patriotic, honest, intelligent and outspoken but at times rather a firebrand. Despite his rather uncertain judgment and temper he might make a come-back as a political soldier. Active candidate for the premiership (1955).

20. Asadi, Salmān

Born about 1896. The eldest son of the late Muhammad Vali Asadi, mutawalli of the shrine at Meshed, who was shot for treason in 1935. Educated at the American College, Tehran; spent a few years also at Cambridge and in London; speaks English. Owing to his father's influence elected to the Majles as member for the 7th and 8th sessions.

Served for a short time in the News Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a translator. In charge of the Department of Propaganda 1941 to March 1942. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Food 1942 and worked hard to ensure the food

supply of Tehran with Mr. Sheridan in the famine winter of 1942-43. Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance, and head of the Rice Monopoly April 1944. Member of Economic Section of Qavam's Mission to Moscow February 1946. Appointed chairman of the Industrial Bank October 1946. Minister of Labour June to September 1947. Elected to 15th Majles for Meshed, April 1954 appointed to High Council of Seven-Year Plan.

Well-read and intelligent; but an intriguer. Indiscreet and given to flattery. Has good reputation for financial honesty but is an incorrigible liar.

21. Azodi, Yadullah (Amir A'zam)

Born in Tehran about 1890. The son of the late Nusratullah Mirza, and a descendant of Fath Ali Shah. Inherited large estates from his father, all of which were situated in the neighbourhood of Damghan and Shahrud. Educated in Persia; has spent some years in Europe. Wife is a daughter of Vusug-ud-Dauleh.

Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920. First Secretary of the Persian Legation at Berlin in 1928, and for some time was *Chargé d'Affaires* there. "Chief de Personnel" at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1929-30. Counsellor at Washington, 1931, and acted as *Chargé d'Affaires* there. Minister at Warsaw in March 1933; but recalled to Tehran the following December as the result of some scandal dating from his Washington days. Chief of Passport Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 1935. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry, March 1937 until November 1937. Minister of Roads under Qavam-us-Saltaneh 1942, and did well in that post. Resigned early in 1943 partly owing to accusations of nepotism; appointed Minister to Brazil, and proceeded thither July 1943. Replaced March 1949. Minister to the Argentine August 1950-August 1952. December 1952 Master of Ceremonies at the Court until appointed Minister to Spain May 1954.

Speaks French and German, and usually very helpful and forthcoming. One of the old school with not much influence.

22. Bakhtiār, Abul Qāsem Khān

Born 1915. Son of the late Amir-e-Mufakkhkham. Educated in England. Governor of Kashan 1941-42. Set up as a rebel leader in Junaki in March 1942, but three months later surrendered to General Zahedi, who appointed him and Manuchehr Khan As'ad as army representatives responsible for order in Bakhtiari. Rebelled again after Zahedi's arrest, but was arrested in 1943 and sent to Tehran. In 1946 appointed by Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Co-Governor of Bakhtiari, and shortly afterwards entrusted with the formation of Qavam's Democrat Party there. Ordered to Tehran at the end of 1947, he refused, took to the hills, and after a short scuffle was once again arrested in April 1948. He was tried and condemned to three months' imprisonment and two years' banishment from tribal country, but his sentence was remitted by the Shah.

Member of the Committee of the Persian Partisans of Peace, July 1950—according to him, because of his personal friendship with Bahar. Resigned when appointed Governor-General of Kurdistan in March 1951. Relieved of his post in Musaddeq's pre-election shuffle in January 1952.

Intelligent and plausible, but ambitious and unreliable. He did not hesitate to turn King's evidence for purely personal motives on the outbreak of the tribal revolt of September 1946 of which was one of the ringleaders himself. His behaviour in the 1946 tribal revolt caused us a good deal of trouble. Later went through an elaborate process of apology and reconciliation with us and now considers himself to be our friend.

23. Bakhtiār, Āqā Khān

Born 1908, fifth son of Sardar Muhtashim. Educated in England.

No actual experience of tribal affairs in the tribe as opposed to intrigue in Tehran or Isfahan.

Deputy for Shahr Kurd in 15th Majles. Made the Agricultural Bank his career and became Director of it in July 1951. Resigned March 1953. Appointed Director of the Mortgage Bank September 1953.

Conscientious and hard-working. Believes in need for reforms but not particularly active or influential in politics. Genuinely friendly towards us. Speaks very good English.

24. Bakhtiār, Dr. Shāhpur

Born 1909. Elder son of Sardar Fateh. Educated and obtained his doctorate in France where he lived for sixteen years and served with the French Resistance Forces during the war. On return to this country was appointed in 1946 as Director of Provincial Labour Office in Isfahan. Aroused opposition from factory owners by trying to implement labour legislation too enthusiastically. Factory owners succeeded in obtaining his transfer from Isfahan, and early in 1947 he was appointed Director of Provincial Labour Office in Abadan. Was unsuccessful candidate in opposition to official Government candidates for 15th Majles for Isfahan. Contested Khorramshahr unsuccessfully in 16th Majles elections, October 1949, and in the same month was relieved of his post as Director of Labour. Under-Secretary in Ministry of Labour April 1953 until Musaddeq's fall in August 1953. Remained faithful to Musaddeq. Arrested February 1954 for a few weeks for anti-Government activity and again in September 1954 on suspicion of collaborating with *Tudeh* military organisation; in June 1955 sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

In Abadan worked hard to improve industrial relations and preserve industrial peace. Conscientious and apparently strictly honest. Relations with Anglo-Iranian Oil Company were on the whole good.

Speaks French and a little English. Is an intense Nationalist and professed anti-Communist.

25. Bakhtiārī, Jahānshāh Samsām

Born 1910, the second son of Murteza Quli Samsam by his second wife, a sister of Sa'adat-ud-Dauleh Qashqa'i. Is more of a tribesman than his brothers. After his father he has probably more influence than any other of the Ilkhani Khans in the tribe and of all the Khans comes second to Abul Qasem.

In 1943 was awarded the Humayun medal, 1st class, for arranging a meeting between the Qashqa'i Khans and General Jahanbani. Always friendly with British, he was presented with a silver tray at the end of 1945 in appreciation of the hospitality he had shown to British officials during the war.

Governor of Shahr Kurd and Deputy Governor of the Bakhtiari June 1944. Co-Governor of the Bakhtiari with Abul Qasem in July 1946. Arrested by Qavam who dismissed him in September 1946 for complicity in the plot by Bakhtiaris and Qashqa'is to rise against the Central Government. Governor of Kurdistan, March 1949-January 1950, when promoted Governor-General, Kermanshah, where he did excellent work in making the administration more honest and more efficient. Obligated to resign by Musaddeq, May 1951. April 1955, appointed Governor-General, Kerman.

Active, patriotic and comparatively honest, but not very clever and of doubtful personal morals.

26. Bakhtiāri, Murtezā Quli Samsām

Born about 1875. The son of the famous Samsām-us-Saltaneh. Took part in operations against Salar-ud-Dauleh in 1911. Represented the Bakhtiari tribe in the Majles in the same year, and appointed Ilbagi of the tribe in 1912. Governor of Yazd in 1914. Helped the Germans during the war 1914-18. Made his peace with the British Legation after the war. Has held the appointment of Ilbagi or Ilkhani of the tribe on several occasions. Was Ilkhani when most of the Bakhtiari Khans were arrested in December 1933. He escaped the fate of his fellow khans, and assisted the Government in their policy of inducing the Bakhtiari tribe to abandon their traditional nomadic habits. Appointed Governor of Bakhtiari early in 1943 and did well, suppressing various upstarts like Abul Qasem and establishing order in that tribal area, thereby serving British interests well during the war. By the end of 1945 he had, however, become unpopular with the other tribal khans and he was relieved of his appointment by Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Arrested in September 1946 for complicity in joint Bakhtiari-Qashqa'i rising. Released December. Deputy for Shahr Kurd in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Since then largely in the tribal area.

Quick-tempered, jovial and obstinate. Served Reza Shah well. Very pleasant to meet, but not the sort of man one can trust very far.

27. Baqā'i, Dr. Muzaffar

Born about 1911. Son of Mirza Shahab Kermani, a schoolmaster of Kerman. Received a degree of philosophy from the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint Cloud, Paris, and afterwards spent some time in France. Entered the service of the Ministry of Education and became Director of Education in Kerman in August 1944.

Was a member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Democrat Party in 1946 and became Deputy for Kerman to the 15th Majles. In September 1949 was the guiding force behind a new paper called *Shahed* and quickly got into trouble with the General Staff for attacks on the army. He was one of the founders of the National Front and, with other members of it, was elected Deputy for Tehran to the 16th Majles. Engaged with other members of the National Front in violent abuse against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and other British interests. In May 1951 he formed the Toilers' Party (*Hezb-e-Zahmatkashan*) in the hope of organising some labour support for Musaddeq's Government. Widely believed that he received financial support from the Americans to form the party. The party, which has never been much more than a gang of toughs, split in 1952 with the formation of the "Third Force" by Khalil Maleki. In October 1951 Baqā'i accompanied Musaddeq to America. Elected Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles. Broke with Musaddeq openly in March 1953 and gaoled for a few days before the latter's fall in August 1953. Went to Kerman for 18th Majles elections May 1954. Arrested in following June for opposing Government candidates and eventually deported to Zahedan, where he still was in July 1955.

A clever and ambitious man with less of a reputation for dishonesty than many of his old colleagues such as Fatemi and Makki. It is widely held that the Shah keeps in touch with him. Has a strong following in Kerman and considerable support in Isfahan.

28. Bāyandur, Ghulām Husain, Brigadier-General (Sartip)

Born about 1900. In the army until 1930, when he went to Italy on a course of naval engineering. Returned in 1934, and was appointed engineer officer of the southern naval force.

Promoted major in 1935. Port officer of Abadan and Khorramshahr in 1936. Lieutenant-colonel, 1938. Transferred to General Staff 1944 and was Head of the Naval Directorate until 1950. Deputy Commander of Armed Customs Guards, 1951. Chief of Staff of Naval Forces September 1952-September 1953, after which he retired.

Keenly interested in mercantile affairs, and helped to float the monopoly company for the landing of cargo in the port of Khorramshahr in 1937. Unpopular with his subordinates. Quick and hot-tempered, but less so than formerly. Uses his position for his financial advantage. Not very intelligent, but hard-working. Speaks French and Italian.

29. Bayāt, Murtezā Quli (Sahām-us-Sultān)

A rich landowner from Sultanabad, born about 1882. Member of the Majles on several occasions, and Minister of Finance 1926-27. Deputy Speaker of the 10th Majles. Member of the 'Edalat Party 1942. Accused of hoarding wheat during the winter of 1942-43. Minister of Finance in Suhaili's Cabinet 1943, and performed the useful function of effacing himself completely in favour of Dr. Mills-paugh. Not included in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943.

Minister without Portfolio in Sa'ed's Cabinet March-August 1944. Prime Minister November 1944-April 1945. He sought to improve relations with the Russians, but his efforts only resulted in the paralysis of the administration of the country. Sent as Governor-General to Tabriz in December 1945, but failed to do anything to check the Azarbaijan independence movement and soon returned to Tehran. Joined Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946 as Minister of Finance, but was not included when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946. Deputy for Araq in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Elected Senator from Hamadan autumn 1949 and elected First Vice-President of the Senate on its inauguration February 1950. Member of Mixed Oil Commission May 1951. Became managing director of N.I.O.C. December 1952, in which capacity he took part in the 1954 oil negotiations. But he contributed nothing towards their successful conclusion. In 1955 appointed chairman of the board of directors of the reconstituted N.I.O.C.

Has a young wife. Speaks a little French. Crafty and avaricious.

30. Behbahāni, Mirzā Sayyed Muhammad (A'yatullah)

Born in the early 1870s. Son of Aqa Sayyed Abdullah Behbahani, a leading Nationalist *mujtahed* who was murdered in 1906 by a rival clique of fellow-revolutionaries.

A'yatullah Behbahani is a divine of a political rather than a religious bent and wields considerable influence in Tehran both in the bazaar and amongst politicians. Played an important part in stopping the Shah leaving the country in February 1953, and again in the events which led to Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953. Directly concerned in the 1955 anti-Baha'i agitation.

Expects and usually receives payment for his services, in particular from the Shah, with whom he is believed to be closely connected. Regarded by some as pro-British.

His son, Sayyed Ja'far (born about 1911), became a Deputy for the first time in the 18th Majles, representing Tehran, and has made a number of anti-British speeches.

31. Behnā 'Abdul Husain

Born about 1910. Educated in France. Most of his career as a civil servant has been passed in the Ministry of Finance, where he was senior Under-Secretary for several years until 1950. He then

became President of the Exchange Control Commission. In August 1952 dismissed by Musaddeq to face charges of irregularities during his time in the Ministry of Finance. Cleared in April 1953. Then given sinecure as financial adviser to the Ministry of Finance. For some months in 1952 led Persian delegation in financial negotiations with Russians. In 1954 went into private business.

He has the reputation of being a realist and a sound administrator. He can take quick decisions and rapidly grasp the essentials of financial and economic problems. He mistrusts the Russians and seems prepared to be friendly and helpful towards the British rather than the Americans. He is reliably reported to be corrupt. Speaks French fluently. Is unmarried.

32. Burujerdi, Hāj (Āqā Husain (A'yatullah))

Born c. 1875 in Burujerd of one of the old-established clerical families of that time. Completed his religious studies in the Najaf (Iraq) and stayed there a number of years before returning to Burujerd. Gained a high reputation for his learning and for his proficiency in dealing with difficult points of theology but did not play a prominent public part in religious affairs until the leading Shi'a divine died in 1946, when Burujerdi was one of two *mullas* nominated for the succession. The other *mulla* was successful but died a year or so afterwards when Burujerdi replaced him and moved to Qum, where he now lives.

During Musaddeq's time Burujerdi kept himself to himself although he was attacked by the Musaddeqi and Tudeh press. He became more prominent politically during the anti-Baha'i agitation of 1955 when he brought pressure, including threats of leaving Qum for the Najaf, upon the Ali Government and the Shah to more or less outlaw the Baha'is.

Old, deaf and going blind, he seems to be more of a tool in the hands of self-interested or fanatical *mullas* than to want to stir up trouble on his own initiative.

33. Bushehri-Dehdashti, Āqā Javad (Amir Humā'yun)

Born in Tehran 1898. Second son of the late Haji Muin-ut-Tujjar. Educated at Tehran and in the United Kingdom (1912-14). Claims that he joined an O.T.C. in the United Kingdom at outbreak of war but was forced by his father to resign before he could get into the British Army. Speaks French and English. Married a daughter of the late Haji Amin-uz-Zarb. One of his sons, Jehangir, is an official of the International Bank. Elected a member of the 7th Majles.

Was in Hamburg at the outbreak of the war in 1939, and spent some time in Germany thereafter. Finally got away to Istanbul in 1942 with the help of Count Schulenburg and returned to Tehran March 1943. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad as a suspect in June 1943. Released May 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Fars October 1946 with approval of the Qashqa'is, but only held the appointment for a few months.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and Minister of Agriculture under Hazhir June 1948. Deputy for Bushire in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in Bushire but elected a Senator from Tehran, October 1949. Minister of Roads under Musaddeq, May 1951. Member of Persian negotiating team in oil talks with Harriman and Stokes, July-August 1951. Not included in Musaddeq's new Cabinet of July 1952. Appointed Senator for Fars March 1954.

A lightweight, but has strong ambition of becoming Prime Minister.

34. Dashti, 'Ali

Born about 1887. Educated in the schools of the holy places of Iraq. Returned to Persia about 1922 and edited a paper called *Shafaq-e-Surkh*. As an editor notorious for slanderous abuse and blackmail, and frequently abused Great Britain and British statesmen. Elected to the 5th Majles in 1924, but his credentials were invalidated. Prominent in the abortive Republican movement in 1924, and said to have received large sums from Reza Pahlavi, on whose behalf he worked. Espoused the cause of Reza Pahlavi against Ahmad Shah, and was elected a Deputy to the 6th Majles in 1926. Invited to Moscow in October 1927, to attend the tenth anniversary of the Soviet régime. From Moscow went to Berlin and Paris and returned to Persia early in 1928. Deputy in the 7th and the 8th Majles.

Edited or controlled his paper till about July 1935, receiving subsidies now from the Shah and now from the Soviet Embassy.

In July 1935 he fell into disgrace and was said to have uttered disparaging remarks about Reza Shah's régime. His paper was suppressed and he himself was allowed to plead sickness and to retire to a Government hospital.

At liberty again at the end of 1936. In charge of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior in 1937. After the abdication of Reza Shah he returned to the foreground of Tehran politics. A severe critic of Foroghi and Suhaili in 1942, he worked hard for the return of Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Prime Minister. When the latter came back to power and did not make Dashti a Minister he turned against him.

Elected to 14th Majles in 1943. In the oil crisis of 1944 he opposed the spread of Russian influence in Persia and strongly supported the "resistance" Cabinets preceding Qavam-us-Saltaneh's. Was consistently attacked by Tudeh press during this period. Arrested May 1946. Released December 1946.

Ambassador in Cairo from December 1948. Successful in the first stage of Senate elections in Tehran and Bushire autumn 1949. Returned to Tehran early March 1951 and became Minister without Portfolio under Ali later the same month. Shah's special ambassador to Jordan on the cancellation of his State visit April 1951. Appointed by the Shah Senator for Tehran April 1952, after a period of assiduous cultivation of the Imperial family. Elected Senator for Tehran March 1954.

He appears to have no scruples and no principles. Trusted little, even by his friends, who regard his excessive attachment to women (which he publicly displays) as not in keeping with high office.

A persuasive orator who once held the attention of the Majles as few others could.

35. Divānbaigi, Āqā, Rezā 'Ali

Born in Kurdistan about 1891. Related to the Qaraguzlu family. Educated in Persia. In the employ of the Ministry of the Interior for some years. Went to Turkey with the Nationalists during the first war. Chef de Cabinet to Governor-General of Kerman. A member of the 6th, 7th and 8th Majles. Governor of Gilan in 1931. Resigned in 1933, and appointed Governor of Mazandaran in October 1934; relieved early in 1936. Governor-General of Khuzistan July 1942, and showed some energy, but is reported to have lined his pockets pretty thoroughly in connexion with certain contracts. Recalled early 1943. Governor-General, Gilan, October 1947-February 1950, when appointed Senator for Kermanshah. Appointed again March 1954. One of the most violent opponents of the 1954 agreement with the Oil Consortium.

Speaks French. Agreeable to talk to, but unreliable. Tendency to denigatory.

36. Ebtchāj, Abul Hasan

Second son of Ebtchāj-ul-Mulk, and brother of Ghulam Husain Ebtchāj. Born at Resht about 1900. Interpreter to the British forces in Gilan towards the end of the 1914-18 war. Entered the service of the British (at that time Imperial) Bank of Persia at Resht about 1920. Did well there and was transferred to Tehran 1925. Assistant to the chief inspector from then till in 1936 he resigned of his own accord, because he did not think his talents were given enough scope.

Head of the Mortgage Bank, 1939. Realised one of his ambitions when he became Governor of the National Bank of Iran in September 1942. In this capacity he achieved much and was also of considerable service to us in many ways. Was Persian representative in the negotiations in London leading to the conclusion of a financial agreement between the National Bank and the Bank of England in August 1947, and to its renewal in November 1948. He maintained very cordial relations with the British Treasury and the Bank of England.

He proceeded unsuccessfully to litigation against the British Bank in 1936 and continued to harbour a grudge against it. In 1949 he did his best to make the bank's position untenable and his attitude was probably a contributory cause of the bank's later difficulties which led to its withdrawal from Persia in 1952.

Ambassador to France, August 1950. Recalled April 1952. Joined the staff of the International Bank in Washington as an economic adviser. Returned to Tehran July 1954. Appointed Managing Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation in September 1954, with the Shah's backing. His differences with Zahedi over development contracts and procedure contributed to the Shah's dismissal of the latter as Premier. April 1955, continued in his job under Ali's Government. By July 1955 Ebtchāj had clashed with a number of Ministers and other important personalities but was still going strong. He has done much to introduce order into the operations of the Plan Organisation and to place it beyond the reach of pressure groups.

As a Persian financier he is unusual, since he possesses intelligence, ability, energy and integrity, though little capacity for delegating authority. He is a sincere patriot and his financial theories and policy are largely dictated by his genuine desire to improve Persia's economic position. Apart from animosity towards the British Bank he has proved himself co-operative and friendly and at times has even gone out of his way to promote Anglo-American economic collaboration in Persia.

He is inordinately vain, sensitive and hot-tempered and has made many enemies among his own countrymen. His unpopularity rose to its height in 1949 when his defiance of the business community threatened to precipitate a dangerous financial crisis.

His truculence and intransigence at this time earned for him a reputation of wishing to become a "financial dictator." He suffers from stomach-ulcers.

Married in 1926 Maryam, daughter of Taqi Nabavi. No children. Both he and his wife have been much in the confidence of the Shah and Princess Ashraf.

37. Ebtchāj, Ghulam Husain

Born at Resht 1898. Brother of Abul Hasan Ebtchāj. Educated at Resht and completed his studies at Beirut, and for a short time in France. Interpreter to the British Expeditionary Force 1918-20.

His father was assassinated by the Jangalis, and he, together with his family, fled to Tehran when the Bolsheviks occupied Gilan in 1920. Clerk in the Prime Minister's Office 1920-21. Secretary to the Governor of Gilan 1921-22. Transferred to the

Ministry of Public Works and assistant to the American adviser, Colonel Morris 1923-28. Dismissed from that post, apparently for dishonesty. Joined the Ulen Company in 1929, when the latter had a contract to construct the railways in the south. Transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1931. First Secretary in London April 1932. First Secretary in Cairo March 1933. Suspended by the Ministry shortly after, apparently for conduct in London when the d'Arcy Concession was cancelled. In 1934 Chief of Personnel at the Ministry of the Interior; and then director of the Tourist Department and chief of the Touring Club of Iran. Went to Moscow in September 1936 to arrange the transfer of the Russian tourist organisation *Intourist* to his organisation, *Iran-tour*. Assistant to the Chief of the Tehran Municipality October 1937, but returned to the Ministry of Interior in 1938. Director of Administrative Services in the Ministry August 1938. Acting Chief of Tehran Municipality July 1939.

Incurred Reza Shah's displeasure and was relieved of his charge of the Municipality in September 1940. He then joined *Iran-tour* and also served on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Administration. In 1942 divorced his Persian wife and married a Polish refugee. Appointed Mayor of Tehran in 1944. A supporter of Sayyed Zia he was actively opposed to all Tudeh Party influence in the Municipality. He thus incurred the hostility of all Left-wing elements and in December 1945 Hakimi (then Prime Minister) dismissed him as a gesture of conciliation. In 1946 he became managing director of Iranian Airways. Deputy for Bandar Pahlavi in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Mayor of Tehran again November 1949, but resigned in February 1950 on taking up his duties as Deputy for Lahijan in 16th Majles. Strongly opposed to Musaddeq in summer and autumn of 1951 but left Tehran for Europe before the end of the 16th Majles. Apart from brief visits did not return to Persia until April 1954, when he was reappointed Mayor of Tehran. September 1954 also appointed Inspector of the Caviar Purchasing Company. Replaced as mayor on suspicion of corruption on Ali's becoming Premier, April 1955.

Author of a guide book to Iran. Speaks fluent English, French and Russian. Clever and resourceful but not to be trusted. Active but acquisitive.

38. Emāmi, Jamāl-Ud-Din

Born about 1900, son of the Emami Jum'eh of Khauyi. Educated in Belgium and speaks French.

Deputy in the 14th Majles for Khauyi, which place had been represented by his brother, Javad, for several years. After at first supporting 'Ali Dashti, in 1946 he was encouraging the *Edalat* Party in Ahwaz and district. In May of that year he was arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh for intrigues against the State.

Under Hazhir in June 1948, he became Minister without Portfolio, charged with looking after the affairs of Azarbaijan. He continued as Minister without Portfolio under Sa'ed, November 1948. Resigned in October 1949 to stand for the 16th Majles, to which he was elected from Tehran.

One of the most influential members of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950; it was he who drew up the oil nationalisation resolution of March 1951 (though without mentioning the word "industry," which was inserted by Makki).

It was his proposal which led to the Majles vote of inclination for Musaddeq as successor to 'Ali at the end of April 1951. Emami subsequently became leader in the Majles of the Opposition to Musaddeq and spoke against him with great force and courage. His rather dubious reputation was, however, a distinct handicap to the Opposition.

March 1952, accused of passing an uncovered cheque and for a time went into hiding to avoid arrest. The case was eventually settled. April 1954, elected Senator for Tehran. An outspoken opponent of the Ali Government (1955).

Venial. His self-satisfaction makes him a difficult colleague. Fanatically anti-Communist. Not above using "knifemen."

39. Emāmi, Nezām-Ud-Din

Brother of Jamāl-ud-Din Emami. Married to a daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh. Speaks English.

Served with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 1930-42.

Director-General, Transferred Lands Department, early 1943-September 1944. Head of Persian Trade Delegation to India, October 1944. Persian Government representative with the A.I.O.C., London, June 1947. A member of the Persian Government Delegation in the negotiations leading to the Supplemental Agreement with the A.I.O.C., February-July 1949. Recalled after A.I.O.C. evacuation of the oil areas and returned December 1951. January 1952, attached to the Ministry of Finance as an Inspector of the National Bank.

Ambitious but a reputation for honesty. Patriotic, verging on nationalistic. Proud and rather pig-headed.

40. Emāmi, Dr. Sayyed Hasan (A'yarullah), Emam Jum'eh of Tehran

Born c. 1903. His father and grandfather married daughters of the Qajar Royal House. His father was *Emam Jum'eh* (leading religious dignitary) of Tehran but because of his opposition to the Constitution was replaced by Dr. Emami's uncle after the abdication of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah.

First educated at the Russian school in Tehran until this closed in 1918. Soon afterwards began religious studies in Tehran before going to the Najaf (1922-28) where he gained distinction as a student. 1928-33, in Europe, where he graduated as a doctor of law at Lausanne University. On his return became a lay judge, later being promoted to the head of the Tehran court, with a reputation for a liberal outlook. In 1942 appointed a professor of law at Tehran University, where he still holds a senior professorship.

In 1944 became a judge of the Court of Appeal. In early 1945 Dr. Emami succeeded his uncle, who had died, as *Emam Jum'eh* of Tehran.

His political career seems to have started in late 1941 with membership of the *'Edalat* "party." He stood unsuccessfully in two constituencies for the 14th Majles. Opposed Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1946. Elected from Tehran to the Constituent Assembly in October 1949 and was successful in the first stage of the Senate elections in 1950. In August 1950 seriously wounded by a knife-man. Went to Switzerland for treatment in 1950 and again in 1951. Officiated at the Shah's wedding in February 1951.

Thwarted by Musaddeq in the Tehran elections for the 17th Majles, he got in from Mahabad. Elected President of the Majles, 1st July, 1952. He and his supporters a few weeks later voted for Qavam-us-Saltaneh's abortive premiership; on Musaddeq's triumphal return Dr. Emami resigned from the presidency and left for Europe, later going to Iraq. Returned to Persia, January 1953. April 1954, elected Senator from Tehran, but has not attended Senate meetings.

Intelligent and enlightened although not without some tortuosity of mind or the characteristic Persian belief in the existence of hidden political influences. Has a good reputation for honesty. Well-disposed towards us. Has an appreciable following of a more or less religious nature and has considerable influence amongst various political and social groups.

A regular visitor of the Shah's and of the Queen Mother's.

His wife is a daughter of Zahir-ul-Islam, Dr. Emami's uncle and an incorrigible intriguer. A son and a daughter are being educated in the United Kingdom.

Speaks French, Russian and Arabic.

41. Entezām, 'Abdullāh

Born c. 1900. Brother of Nasrullah Entezam. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919. In the early 1920s at Washington contracted an unhappy and short-lived marriage with an American. In the Press Department 1933-35. Consul at Prague 1936. Chargé d'Affaires at Berne 1938. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April 1941. Secretary at Berne 1942. Appointed in 1947 to investigate Persian claims against Germany and sent to Stuttgart with the rank of Consul-General. Also accredited to The Hague as Minister, August 1949. Appointed first Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court and then Minister for Foreign Affairs by 'Ali, April 1951, but remained in Stuttgart, returning only in June 1953. August 1953, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs under Zahedi, becoming one of the key men of his Government. April 1955, continued as Minister of Foreign Affairs under Ali and was acting Prime Minister during Ali's two months' absence. Represented Persia at the United Nations tenth anniversary at San Francisco, June 1955.

Pleasant and friendly. Interested in science. A man of principles, ideals and vision, with a constructive approach to his job, and a refreshing lack of personal ambition which, however, handicaps him in the tougher branches of politics. His integrity and modesty have earned him a very good reputation with his fellow-countrymen.

Speaks excellent English, French and German.

42. Entezām, Nasrullāh

Born about 1899. Brother of Abdullah Entezam and nephew of Hasan 'Ali Ghaffari. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919. Secretary at Paris 1926. Secretary at Warsaw 1927-32. Secretary to the Persian delegates to the League of Nations during the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Member of the Persian delegation to the World Economic Conference 1933. Secretary at London May 1933. Transferred to Washington 1934. Has also served in the Treaty Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. First Secretary at Berne 1936. *Délégué suppléant* at the League of Nations, May 1938. Head of the Third Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (dealing, *inter alia*, with the United Kingdom), July 1938.

Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1941. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the reconstruction of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet in February 1943, a post which he retained in the following Cabinet of Suhaili. Minister of Communications and subsequently for Foreign Affairs in Bayat's Cabinet of November 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian delegation to San Francisco. Persian delegate to Executive Commission of the United Nations in London with rank of Ambassador. Member of Persian delegation to the United Nations January 1946 and again in September. Persian representative on United Nations Palestine Commission June 1947. Ambassador in Washington 1950-51 as well as permanent Persian delegate to the United Nations from 1950 until February 1954, when he again became Ambassador in Washington. President of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1950.

Rather smooth but helpful and honest. Very intelligent. Speaks French and English.

43. Egbāl, 'Alī

Born in Meshed about 1895. Son of a well-known landowner of Khurasan, with property at Kashmar and elsewhere in the province. Deputy for Meshed in the 12th, 13th and 14th Majles. Never in Government service, but well acquainted with Khurasan politics. An enemy of Suhaili, he was a professing supporter of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din when the latter's fortunes were at their height.

Deputy for Kashmar in the 15th Majles and successful in first stage of Senate elections there, autumn 1949. Early in 1954 founded a contracting firm.

Murky personal morals. Energetic and dishonest.

44. Egbāl, Dr. Manuchehr

Younger brother of 'Alī Egbāl. Born at Meshed about 1905. Educated at Tehran at the medical school, and then in France, where he qualified as a doctor and received a medal for research. Returned to Persia in 1939 and was employed for some time in the Ministry of Public Health. Under-Secretary of the Ministry 1943, he ran the technical side of the Ministry's work with success. Minister for Health, August 1944, under Sa'ed. Enjoyed patronage of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Minister for Health in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946. Minister for Education under Hāzīr, June 1948. Minister for Health under Sa'ed, November 1948, and then Minister for the Interior March 1949. Transferred to Ministry of Roads, January 1950, and continued in that office under Mansur, April-June 1950. August 1950, Governor-General, Azarbaijan, where he did a good job until recalled by Musaddeq, September 1951. In France for five months in 1952. Elected Senator for Tehran, April 1954. Offered Governor-Generalship of Azarbaijan, May 1954, but preferred to keep in the political swim in Tehran. January 1955, with the Shah's support became rector of Tehran University, where he is doing well, and in May 1955 dean of the medical faculty.

Married to a Frenchwoman. Ambitious, friendly, intelligent and not without courage, he has a forceful personality and is said to be a good doctor. Good reputation for honesty. Court physician and close Court connexions of some standing, particularly with the Queen Mother. His sights are set on becoming Prime Minister or at least Minister of Court.

Speaks good French.

45. Esfandiāri, Fathullāh Nuri

Second son of Hasan Esfandiāri (Muhtashem-us-Saltaneh). Born about 1895. Educated in Switzerland and France. Second Secretary of the Persian Legation in London, 1914-24. Assistant Chief of the United Kingdom Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1925. First Secretary at Washington 1926-29. Counsellor at Paris 1929-30. Counsellor in London and Chargé d'Affaires 1930-31, and was in charge at the time of the Persian Exhibition. Chief of the Economic Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1932. Chargé d'Affaires again in London, March to December 1933. Head of the Treaty Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1934; served also in the Passport Section. For three months from the end of 1935 he was in Bagdad on a mission charged with negotiations over the frontier dispute, but achieved little. "Chef du protocole," May 1936 to December 1937. In charge of the Government-controlled Iran Insurance Company, 1938. Appointed Persian Government representative with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 1942, in London. Minister to Polish Government in London, January 1944. Returned to Persia, 1945. Minister in Washington May 1947.

Appointed Persian representative on International Bank, June 1947. Returned to Persia after his two years' appointment and made a member of the Seven-Year Plan Council, August 1949. Was head of the Persian delegation to the Islamic Economic Conference at Karachi (1949). February-March 1954, Head of Supervisory Commission for 18th Majles elections in Tehran. Played a useful if not notably brilliant rôle in the 1954 oil negotiations.

Married to a Frenchwoman; speaks French and English. His son is A.D.C. to Prince Ghulam Reza. Friendly and helpful but lacks drive; he has a reputation for integrity and seems to have been successful in avoiding charges or suspicions of corruption. Close friend of 'Alī.

46. Esfandiāri, Musā Nuri (Muvaffaq-us-Saltaneh)

Born in Tehran 1894. Educated in Tehran and Europe. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1916. Secretary at Rome for some time. Chief of the Economic Section of the Ministry 1929. Chief of the League of Nations Section 1932. Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at Paris 1933. Counsellor at Moscow in December 1933 and very soon afterwards transferred to Ankara, where he was Chargé d'Affaires for some time. Head of the Consular Department March 1937. Director-General of Industry and Mines July 1937. Summarily relieved of that appointment in September owing to a muddle that was in reality due to his predecessor. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs December 1937. Minister, Bagdad, August 1938. Sent on a special mission to Berlin 1939. Left Berlin on rupture of relations in 1941 and returned to Bagdad as Minister until 1943. Though at first suspected of pro-German feelings, owing to his visit to Berlin, he behaved correctly in his second period of office in Bagdad. Minister of Agriculture in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Ambassador to Turkey 1945. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and again under Hakimi March 1948 and Hāzīr June 1948. Ambassador to India January 1949-December 1951. September 1954, appointed Minister (later Ambassador) to Japan.

Speaks French, Italian and English. Pleasant and well-educated, otherwise has no particular characteristics. Connected with Princess Ashraf.

47. Eshrāqi, Amir Qāsem, Muhandes (Engineer)

Born in Tehran c. 1900. After his schooling at the French College in Tehran he went in 1924 to the Berlin technical high school to study electricity. In 1927 continued his studies in Paris. In 1930 returned to Persia and made his career in the Ministry of P.T.T. In 1938 appointed Director-General in charge of telephonic and telegraphic communications throughout the country.

In 1950 became Under-Secretary to the Ministry of P.T.T. and then Minister, both under Razmara, until the latter's assassination in March 1951, when Eshrāqi again took a technical job in the Ministry. In 1952 appointed head of the Telephone Company.

In November 1954 appointed, on the Shah's recommendation, deputy to Abul-Hasan Ebtehaj in the Seven-Year Plan Organisation. In April 1955 became Minister of P.T.T. in the Alī Government.

A technician rather than a politician. Likes to show himself off in a good light but is undoubtedly serious and energetic and knows his job. Honest and firm in resisting special interests but well-liked in spite of this. A protégé of the Shah.

Speaks French and some English and German. Has a sensible French wife.

48. Eskandari, 'Abbās

Born c. 1889. 1920-25 and for a few months in 1941 owner-editor of newspaper *Siasat*. Uncle of Iraj Eskandari and a Qajar prince. One of the founders of the Tudeh Party, but soon broke away to lead a dissident section. In 1942 became a director of the Iran Insurance Company, in which he made money, and went to Egypt 1943-45. Appointed Governor of Tehran in June 1946 and Governor-General a month later, when Tehran was made an independent Ustan. Elected to the 15th Majles for Hamadan. In August 1947 made a violent attack in the Majles on Taqizadeh, the former Ambassador in London. Repeatedly attacked Hakimi's Government in the first part of 1948 and was foremost in demanding a revision of the A.I.O.C.'s concession and the return of Bahrain to Persia. In January 1949 attacked Taqizadeh for signing the revised A.I.O.C. concession of 1933 and thus set off the agitation which eventually led to nationalisation.

Left Persia for Europe very soon after the attempt on the Shah's life on February 4, 1949. Returned to Persia mid-1950. In July 1952 was Qavam-us-Saltaneh's right-hand man during latter's abortive few days' premiership. In 1955 in Paris. He seems to have become a Suhaili supporter.

He is something of a mystery man. Can almost certainly be identified with Soviet agent No. 16 mentioned in Agabekov's revelations. He is now rich, owning the greater part of Mehrabad aerodrome, having, according to general repute, cheated the original owner out of his title-deeds. Clever and untrustworthy.

49. Eskandari, Iraj

Born 1900. Educated in France as a lawyer. In 1938 published a philosophical review which was nothing more than disguised Communist propaganda, and in that year was one of a group of young Communists imprisoned by Reza Shah and held until latter's abdication, September 1941. 1942-46, a member of the editorial board of *Rahbar*, the Tudeh Party organ, of which he owned the licence. On Tudeh Central Committee from August 1944 and secretary-general to the party. Owns large properties and is generally regarded as very wealthy. Deputy for Sari in the 14th Majles and Minister of Commerce and Industry under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946—dropped in October of the same year. Replaced large number of non-Tudeh Ministry officials with Tudeh members and sympathisers during tenure of office. Went to France, January 1947, and has not returned to Persia. Persian "delegate" to Partisans of Peace Conference in Paris, April 1949. Condemned to death *in absentia*, May 1949, for activities hostile to the constitutional monarchy and for separatism (Azarbaijan). Expelled from France and went to Prague, May 1951. In May 1955 was reliably reported to be in Vienna.

50. Fallāh, Dr. Reza

Born 1909 in Kashan. Secondary education in Tehran. Then at Birmingham University on an A.I.O.C.-financed Persian Government scholarship, after which he spent a year at the Sunbury Research Establishment. Took a Ph.D. 1937, joined A.I.O.C. and studied at their technical institutes in the United Kingdom. 1939-50, worked in the technical institute at Abadan, eventually becoming its director. 1951, adviser to the Temporary Oil Board after nationalisation. 1952-54, at first acting and later confirmed as refinery general manager for N.I.O.C. Took part in the 1954 oil negotiations. 1955, became a member of the boards of the reconstituted N.I.O.C. and of the consortium refining company.

His reputation for honesty is good. He is competent, intelligent and clever. (He rode the Musaddeq storm.) Ambitious and a subtle intriguer. His wife, a hypochondriac, is a bad influence. She is extremely ambitious and a greater, although less clever, intriguer than her husband. They have built up many influential connexions, including some at the Shah's court.

Dr. and Mrs. Fallah both speak excellent English. They have two daughters.

51. Farhudi, Dr. Husain

Born about 1899. Son-in-law of Vahid-ul-Mulk Shaibani. Educated in Tehran. Served in various capacities in the Ministry of Education, at Tehran and in the provinces. Has also done newspaper work. One of the Directors-General of the Ministry 1943. Successful candidate for Dasht-i-Mishan and Susangird in the 14th Majles 1943. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh December 1946. Released January 1947. Deputy Prime Minister in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Represented Dezful in Constituent Assembly 1949. Deputy for Dezful in 16th Majles. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, autumn 1949. Cultural Attaché in Rome mid-1952 to August 1953, when recalled by Zahedi Government. Became Secretary-General of Tehran Chamber of Commerce January 1955.

During various absences of Abbas Mas'udi in 1951 and 1952 exercised general supervision over *Ettela'at*.

Speaks French. An intelligent man who is skilled at trimming his sails to the wind.

52. Farmand, Hasan 'Alī (Ziā-ul-Mulk)

Born near Hamadan, 1886. Of the Qaraguzlu family. Educated partly in France; speaks French.

A large landowner, was Deputy for Hamadan in the 7th Majles (1928), three times between 1933 and 1943 and again in the 14th Majles (1943). Minister of Agriculture under Alī, March 1951, and retained this post under Musaddeq, May 1951 to October 1951, when he resigned to stand, unsuccessfully, as Majles candidate for Hamadan.

Pleasant to meet but rather colourless and timid. Limited in outlook and not very practical. Reputation for honesty and generosity.

53. Farrukh, Mehdi (Mu'tasem-us-Saltaneh)

A Sayyed. Born about 1881. Was for some years in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the 2nd Political Department, dealing with eastern countries. Minister at Kabul in 1927-28. Subsequently Director-General of Industry. Governor of Western Azarbaijan February 1936. Again Director-General of Industry and Mines September 1937 and shortly afterwards raised to the newly-created appointment of Minister of Industry and Mines. Removed from this post without explanation March 1938.

Governor-General of Fars 1940, and of Kerman in 1941. Minister of the Interior of Suhaili's Cabinet July 1942 and in spite of Majles opposition maintained his place in the Cabinet. Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in August, made him Minister of Food, in which post he displayed a sort of crazy activity which irritated many and did not achieve much. Having fallen out with the American adviser Sheridan, he left the Ministry of Food on the fall of the Qavam Cabinet in February 1943. Elected a Deputy for Zabul in the 14th Majles November 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars December 1945 but was recalled in February 1946. Presented credentials as ambassador at Nanking November 1948. Arrived in Tehran, December 1949, after withdrawal of mission. Appointed Chief of Police at the end of May 1950; replaced on fall of Mansur

Cabinet, June 1950. Nominated Senator for Azarbaijan, December 1950. Elected Senator for Khurasan, March 1954.

Was prominent in opposition to Musaddeq and displayed considerable courage. Hates Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Intelligent and ambitious but excitable and hot-tempered; and a speech he made attacking the 1954 oil agreement with the Consortium was neither intelligent nor responsible. Shows close interest in Sistan and Afghan frontier problems generally.

54. Fiteh, Mustafā

Born in Isfahan about 1897. Son of Fateh-ul-Mulk, a servant of the Prince-Governor of Isfahan, Zell-us-Sultan. Educated at Tehran and at Columbia University, where he graduated in economics. Entered the Anglo-Persian Oil Company about 1922. Appointed assistant general manager (Adm.) of A.I.O.C. at Abadan in February 1947, the most senior post held by a Persian. When the last of the British left in 1951 he was quickly retired by the N.I.O.C. Gaoled by Zahedi for a few days in October 1953. After release went to the United Kingdom and returned June 1954. Still lying low. His connexion with A.I.O.C. is now completely severed.

Has a perfect command of English and is keenly interested in Persian politics. In 1943 founded the *Hamrahani* Party with a reform programme; the party had faded out by 1945. He also has an international outlook and a considerable knowledge of world politics, particularly those of the Left. Anti-American bias. Intelligent, friendly and approachable. Is a mine of information about the foibles of his own countrymen. When assistant general manager of A.I.O.C. he was a focus of mischief and pointless intrigue. Gave A.I.O.C. and thereby the British a bad name by intrigue and personal intervention in Persian Government affairs. He supported the A.I.O.C. well, however, once the nationalisation issue was raised. Reputation for immorality and dishonesty.

Has a son in N.I.O.C. and a daughter formerly married to Asghar Mirza, the son of Sarem-ud-Dauleh. His wife was daughter of the Zell-us-Sultan's head secretary, Seraj-ul-Mulk.

55. Fātemi, Mehdi Mushir (Emād-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1886. Added *Mushir* to his name to distinguish himself from the Fātemis of Na'in. Has had an official career in the Ministry of Finance and in 1918 was financial representative in his native city of Isfahan, where he is influential both through his own family and through that of his wife, who is a daughter of Zell-us-Sultan. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Fars in 1922-23. Elected a Deputy from Isfahan in the 5th and 6th terms of the Majles. Appointed Minister of Education in August 1925. Minister of Justice in December 1925 and Minister of the Interior February to May 1927.

As a Minister and a Deputy he was uniformly popular and successful. In 1928 he fell out with the Minister of Court and was not allowed to be elected to the 7th Majles. Elected a Deputy to the 8th Majles 1930. Governor of Gilan from December 1933 until October 1937.

Head of the Municipality of Tehran under Suhaili's Cabinet February 1943. Resigned 1943 and elected Deputy for Na'in 1943. One of the leaders of the Ettehad-e-Melli group in the 14th Majles which contained about twenty Right-wing members.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars in March 1946. Recalled during the Qashqa'i revolt in autumn, but reappointed February 1947. Recalled

May 1947. Elected Senator for Isfahan October 1949 and again in November 1954.

A heavy gambler with a reputation for dishonesty. In ill-health. Speaks a little French.

56. Firuz, Muhammad Husain, Major-General (Surlashgar)

Born about 1895. The fourth son of the late Farman Farma. Educated at the military college at Petrograd. Entered the Persian Army during the 1914-18 war, and was regarded as one of the promising young officers of the army. Appointed Chief of Staff of the Southern Division in 1925, and did very good work in organising the troops in Fars and enforcing discipline and efficiency. Sent to Delhi as representative of the Persian Army at the Indian army manoeuvres early in 1925. Fell under suspicion for some reason about 1929 and resigned his commission. His Qajar origin was no doubt the cause of his collapse.

Returned to Persia late in 1941, and was sent to Fars as G.O.C. and Governor-General in March 1942. Superseded in both appointments by General Shahbakhti a year later. He had succeeded in keeping a rather precarious order in Fars, but never succeeded in repressing Naser Qashqa'i's rebellious movement. Head of the Air Force 1943. Again appointed Governor-General of Fars in early summer of 1944, but did not get on with the influential Qavam-ul-Mulk or the Qashqa'i Khans. His enemies accused him of weakness and of truckling too much to the Tudeh, but His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, considered that his refusal to take unnecessarily repressive measures against the Tudeh was more sound. Appointed Minister of War in Sa'ed's Cabinet in August 1944, but refused the appointment. Minister of Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1946. Resigned a month later. Returned to the same Ministry in Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946, but was left out when Qavam reformed his Cabinet in October 1946. Appointed Inspector-General, Persian Air Force, March 1947, and retired from military service in 1949. At one time a member of the Directing Council of the Iran-Soviet Cultural Relations Society and up to 1953 at least still actively connected with various international Communist front organisations.

Speaks very good French and Russian and some English; intelligent but irresponsible. Tudeh-sponsored candidate for Tehran in the elections for the 17th Majlis. Married a sister of Haj Muhammad Namazi, who was educated in Hong Kong, speaks English perfectly, and is one of Persia's leading feminists. Although his wife goes about socially he does not. He now leads a quiet private life and refuses all invitations, at any rate from members of the Diplomatic Corps.

57. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirzā (Farmānfarmāyān)

Third son of the late Farman Farma. Born about 1893. Educated at Beirut and Paris. Sent to Tabriz as Head of the Finance Department 1915. Said to have taken many bribes while in that appointment. Is very thrifty and has large properties both in Tehran and Tabriz. Elected as Deputy to the 4th, 5th and 6th Majles for Tabriz. On the fall of his brother, Nusrat-ud-Dauleh, in 1931, he retired from public life and was seldom seen. Has been in Europe a good deal.

Elected to the 13th Majles for Sarab in 1941, and again to the 14th in 1943. His appearance, being that of an underfed bird of prey, seems to keep him in the background, but he has a good deal of his father's intelligence. Became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in October 1946 under Qavam, but resigned in December to stand, without success, as a candidate for the 15th Majles.

Founder member of Persian Democratic Youth Organisation, a Tudeh Party cover organisation, July 1951.

Now inactive because of serious illness.

58. Firuz, Muzaffar

Born about 1910, grandson of Farman Farma, a descendant of Fath Ali Shah Qajar and accordingly uses the title of Prince in social life. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Speaks excellent English and fair French; is bitterly hostile to the Pahlavi dynasty and his sole *raison d'être* is to avenge the murder of his father by Reza Shah. At one time employed in Persian Legation in Washington, whence, it is believed, he was removed at the request of the United States Government for abuse of diplomatic bag privileges.

Went to Palestine and brought from there Sayyed Zia's first manifesto. He remained an ardent supporter of Sayyed Zia until May 1945, when he broke with him. He said that the breach was caused by Sayyed Zia's becoming more and more dictatorial, but Sayyed Zia's version was that they had to part because Firuz would not abandon his newspaper campaign in the newspaper *Ra'id-e-Emruz* against the Shah. Towards the end of 1945 he became one of the chief supporters of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. As a reward for this Qavam, when he became Prime Minister in February 1946, appointed Firuz Political Under-Secretary, an office apparently created for the purpose, and Director of Propaganda. He became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in August 1946, but was dropped when Qavam-us-Saltaneh re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946, and sent to Moscow as Ambassador. Relieved of his appointment in the autumn of 1947, he took up his residence in Switzerland and has since moved to France, where he has been reliably reported as active in Communist circles. He has a bent for propaganda and sensational journalism and has succeeded in making himself extremely unpopular even with his colleagues. His mental unbalance is enhanced by a titanic conceit but not by conspicuous courage.

Rash, unbalanced, dishonest, untruthful and malicious, would probably sacrifice anything to bring about the downfall of the Shah.

59. Furuher, Abul-Qāsem

Born in Tehran about 1883. A grandson of Mirza Abbas Khan Qavam-ud-Dauleh, who was Minister of Finance for some years. Educated in Tehran and Switzerland; studied law. A judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1915-21. Chief of Construction at the Tehran Municipality 1921-24. President of the Tribunal 1926-27. Assistant Director of the Registration Department in the Ministry of the Interior 1927-28. Judge in the Appeal Court in 1929. Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance under his great friend Davar October 1933. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in June 1934. Minister to France June 1936; but recalled in January owing to an anti-Persian press campaign in some French newspapers. Acting Minister of Interior July and Minister September 1937. Minister of Industry and Mines March 1938. Minister of Interior August 1938 to February 1939 when superseded for no stated reason. A Deputy for Tehran in the 12th Majles October 1939, and in the 13th Majles 1941. Unwilling to become Minister of the Interior to run the elections in 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and later Minister of Finance in Sa'ed's Cabinet March-August 1944.

Delegate to U.N. Assembly, September 1947. Appointed minister to Switzerland 1948. Also accredited to Vienna August 1949. Recalled by Musaddeq, May 1951, because of his relationship

with Ghulam Husain Furuher of Supplement Oil Agreement fame. On Musaddeq's overthrow, August 1953, again appointed Minister to Switzerland, and additionally to Austria.

Well educated. Keeps himself to himself. Quite a good reputation for honesty. Married to a Bulgarian lady.

60. Furuher, Ghulām Husain

Born in 1903. Brother of Abul-Qāsem Furuher. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran, and at Berlin University where he studied economics and law. Entered the Ministry of Justice in 1928 and held various appointments in that Ministry until 1934 when he transferred to the Ministry of Finance. Director-General in the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In 1941 was appointed to Germany to investigate commercial relations between Persia and Germany. After relations with Germany were cut he acted as economic counsellor to the Persian Legation in Switzerland. Returned to Persia early 1946 and was appointed Director-General of the Taxation Department of the Ministry of Finance. Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets December 1946 to December 1947. Head of Industrial Bank October 1948-August 1949, when appointed Minister of Labour by Sa'ed. Dropped January 1950. Ministry of Labour under Razmara, August 1950. Transferred to Ministry of Finance, October 1950, and undertook the defence of the Supplemental Oil Agreement in the Majles, December 1950, a task which he performed with commendable courage. As a result of the outcry in the Majles, inspired against him by the National Front, he was forced to resign in January 1951. Unsuccessful in Senate elections for Tehran, March 1954. Appointed to the High Council of Seven-Year plan March 1955.

Gained much influence at one time by his wife's close association with Princess Ashraf. Intelligent and courageous but more of a showman than an administrator. Likes the good life but comparatively honest.

Speaks fluent French and German.

61. Garzan, 'Abbās, Major-General (Surlashgar)

Born about 1902. In Cossack Brigade in early 1920s. Later commissioned in the Engineers. Studied in France 1925-27 at the *École de Génie*. 1929, appointed Chief of Staff of 2nd Division.

In 1939 became head of the Railway Administration, but left it in June 1942 as a result of differences with other officials, and was appointed head of the 3rd Bureau of the General Staff. In September 1943 became head of the 2nd Bureau and a month later was appointed Deputy Chief of the General Staff. In September 1944 appointed to command the 9th Division and became Deputy Chief of the General Staff again March 1946. Promoted brigadier in June 1946, and not long after became Director of Personnel in the Ministry of War. In 1947 assumed command of the 3rd Division at Tabriz and in September 1948 changed to the command of the 4th Division at Reza'iyyeh. Promoted major-general March 1950. Relinquished command of the 4th Division in May 1950 to become Deputy Chief of the General Staff, and the next month, when Razmara became Prime Minister, he became Chief of the General Staff; kept this post until July 1952, when he was retired by Musaddeq. August 1953-April 1955 Minister of Roads and Communications under Zahedi.

He gained the esteem of the British officers working in the railway administration during the war, who considered that he co-operated well and loyally. He was highly thought of by His Majesty's Consul at Isfahan and has always appeared friendly. He is believed to be one of the more efficient and active

officers in the Persian Army. His reputation for honesty, which was once very good, seems to have declined somewhat in recent years. Not a very impressive Minister. He speaks fair French but no English.

62. Ghaffari, Hasan, 'Ali (Mu'aven-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1890. Son of the late Mu'aven-ud-Dauleh, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. Educated in Europe. At one time Attaché to the Persian Legation in Brussels and Head of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the Coronation of Reza Shah in 1926, Ghaffari was appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court, a post he held until March 1929, when he was appointed Political Director-General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dismissed November 1929 for permitting publication in the press of the judicial safeguards accorded to foreign subjects after the abolition of extra-territorial privileges, but reinstated a month later owing to his friendship with Taimurtash, the Minister of Court. Minister at Brussels 1933-36. *En disponibilité* for ten years living in Switzerland and France. Returned Tehran mid-1947. In 1947 appointed first Persian Ambassador to Pakistan but did not proceed. Appointed Minister to Brazil with personal rank of Ambassador March 1949 (plus Chile, February 1950).

An agreeable and well-educated man. Speaks French and German fluently.

63. Gilānshāh, Hedāyat, Major-General (Sarkāshgar)

Born about 1908. Educated at the Tehran Military School. Commissioned 1929, first in the Cavalry and in 1931 transferred to the Air Force. Attended training courses in France in 1934 and 1936. In 1941 first commanded the Ahwaz Squadron and then the Tehran Air Group. Before 1941 associated a great deal with the German community. In October 1943 led a team of officers sent to the United Kingdom for air training, remaining there for two years. 1947 became Deputy Chief of Air Staff and in late 1949 Commander of the Fighter Regiment.

Appointed Head of the Imperial Iranian Air Force in February 1952.

He is an intriguer, weak, conceited and fond of good living. Though actively employed in the Air Force for the whole of his service, he has little knowledge of modern Air Force affairs. Well in with the Shah, becoming an A.D.C. in 1945 and at present head of his military secretariat. Speaks French and English.

64. Gulshā'iyyān, 'Abbās Qulī

Born about 1898. Educated at School of Political Science, Tehran. In Ministry of Justice from 1918 to 1935, when he was transferred to Ministry of Finance of which he eventually became Director-General. Successively Minister of Finance, Commerce and Justice under Furughi, August 1941-March 1942. Appointed Governor-General, Tabriz, September 1943, but did not proceed. Head of Tehran Municipality January-August 1944. Minister of Commerce under Sadr, June 1945. Governor-General, Khorasan, April-September 1948, when he was appointed Minister of Justice under Hāziri. Minister of Finance in successive Sa'ed Governments from November 1948 to March 1950. Persian Government plenipotentiary in negotiations with the A.I.O.C. which culminated in the signature of the Supplemental Agreement in July 1949. Governor-General of Fars, May 1950, where he did an excellent job. Dismissed in August 1951 because of National Front aversion to him as signatory of the Supplemental Oil Agreement. Appointed Governor-General Azarbaijan, December 1954.

Speaks French and has a limited knowledge of English. Affable and friendly. A capable and adaptable administrator, but not particularly honest.

65. Hā'erizādeh, Sayyed Abul Hasan

Born about 1894 of a spiritual family of Yezd. Deputy for Yezd in the 4th, 5th and 6th Majles. A follower of Mudarres, who strongly opposed Reza Shah. Has had a career in the Ministry of Justice which he joined in 1928. Deputy for Sabzavar in the 15th Majles. In 1945 was a member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's party. Deputy for Tehran in the 16th and 17th Majles. For some time a member of the Committee of the Partisans of Peace. Although one of the original members of the National Front he began to fall out with Musaddeq late in 1952 and broke with him in spring 1953. Elected Deputy for Tehran to 18th Majles and violently opposed the 1954 oil agreement, being one of the five Deputies who voted against it.

Although in a long history of political opposition he has shown courage and spoken his mind and has integrity of a sort, he is a sufficiently clever politician to know when to dodge. Quarrelsome and falls out with his colleagues, but an effective member of the Majles, where he has often abused the British. Inclined to extreme "neutralism." Not particularly honest. Bitterly opposed to Dr. Ali Amini.

66. Hā'i'at, 'Ali

Born c. 1889 in Azarbaijan. Traditional religious education. Was opposed to Reza Khan before he became Shah but later became one of his friends. A Deputy on several occasions before becoming a magistrate in 1928. President of section of Supreme Court of Appeal when arrested at instance of Allied security authorities and interned at Arak, August 1943. Public Prosecutor at Supreme Court of Appeal when appointed Minister of Justice by Mansur, April 1950; he appears to have owed his appointment to the fact that he was acceptable to such mutually incompatible elements as the Court and the National Front. Resigned with Mansur, June 1950. Minister of Justice under Musaddeq, May 1951. Resigned August 1951 on being appointed Senator for Azarbaijan. August 1953, appointed Head of Supreme Court. Also, November 1953-January 1954, sent to Fars with special powers to deal with the Qashqa'is.

An experienced and influential lawyer. Ambitious and not particularly honest.

67. Hakimi, Ebrahim (Hakim-ul-Mulk)

Born in Azerbaijan, 1870; studied medicine in France for ten years; speaks French. Was Qajar Court Physician as was his father. Deputy in the 1st Majles, 1908. Minister of Finance, 1910. Minister of Education, 1910, 1911. Minister of Finance or Education several times up to 1918. Minister of Education 1920. Lived in retirement throughout Reza Shah's reign. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets August 1942 and February 1943. Associated with Qavam-ul-Mulk in his pro-German intrigues before the Allied invasion. Member of the National Bank Advisory Council in 1943, 1944 and 1945; was considered an ancient nonentity, deaf and infirm, but in May 1945 was appointed Prime Minister because all other candidates were opposed by one or other faction in the Majles. His Cabinet failed to obtain a vote of confidence and resigned a month later. He again became Prime Minister in November 1945, and did his best to deal with the Russian-inspired independence movement in Azarbaijan and had courage enough to refer to the United Nations Security Council the situation created by

the Russian refusal to allow the Persian Government to send troops to Tabriz.

In December 1945 wished to go to Moscow for direct negotiations with the Russians but his request was turned down. Exhausted by his efforts and intimidated by the growing hostility of the Shah and the factions in the Majles, he resigned in January 1946.

Appointed Prime Minister, December 1947, after the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. He survived in that office until June 1948, when his Government resigned on failing to obtain a vote of confidence. A member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom in July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly for Tehran April 1949 and as a Senator for Tehran October 1949. Again a member of the Regency Council and also appointed Minister of Court on the eve of the Shah's departure to the United States, November 1949. Resigned from post of Minister of Court after the Shah's marriage February 1951. Appointed Senator for Tehran March 1954. President of Senate April 1954-April 1955 and as such appointed member of Regency Council during Shah's absence in winter of 1954-55.

Sensible, friendly and sincere. Although old, deaf, frail and lacking in grip, he is not yet quite in his dotage. Wealthy and honest. Very friendly with Taqizadeh.

68. Hasibi, Engineer Kazem

Born c. 1902 in Tehran. After graduating from Tehran Law Faculty he studied mining engineering in France. Speaks French and some English.

Assistant Head of Mines Department, October 1942. Reported to be a member of the Tudeh Party in 1943. Director-General and Technical Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, December 1943. Head of Industrial Institute, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, September 1944. Joined Iran Party 1944 and National Front 1950. Chief theoretician of National Front on oil, was appointed additional Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Finance by Musaddeq, May 1951, with position of permanent deputy to the Minister of Finance on the Mixed Oil Commission. One of the Persian delegates at the negotiations with the A.I.O.C. and Stokes mission in 1951, and International Bank in 1952. Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles. Always very close to Musaddeq, he remained with him right up to the latter's overthrow in August 1953. Then in hiding until he was arrested in March 1955. Released on parole in April.

Fanatically anti-British. He has a crazy look in his eye and his ideas on oil and politics are completely impractical. Reputation for honesty. Left-wing views verging on fellow-travelling.

69. Hedāyat, Abdullāh, General (Sepāhbud)

Born about 1902, the son of Mukhber-ud-Dauleh (Ghulam Reza Kemal-Hedayat) and so member of a family that has usually been pro-British. Trained at the French *École de Guerre*, and also at Fontainebleau. Head of the Third Bureau, General Staff, February 1941; at the Staff College November 1941; Deputy Chief of the General Staff May 1942; Commandant of the Officers' School November 1942. Under-Secretary, Ministry of War, April 1944. Acting Minister of War September 1944. Director of Artillery November 1954. Under-Secretary of War February 1946. While still retaining this post he left for the United States in March 1947 to negotiate purchases of military supplies. Returned in 1948 and continued in the same post until appointed Commandant of the Staff College in February 1950.

Appointed Minister of War by Razmāra, June 1950, and held this post until the latter's assassination. Appointed Commandant of the Staff College May 1951. Retired by Musaddeq July 1952. September 1953, became Minister of War under Zahedi and continued under Alā April 1955.

A well-qualified serious officer, more staff officer than a commander. Intelligent and ambitious. Has a good reputation for honesty. When with the General Staff supported Yazdan-Panah in his opposition to a foreign military mission, but now appears friendly to the Americans. Fairly friendly to us but cautious and perhaps something of an intriguer. Speaks good French and fair English.

70. Hedā'yat, 'Ezzatullāh

Son of Sani'-ud-Dauleh, who was murdered in Tehran during the Constitutional troubles about 1908. Born about 1895. Educated as a civil engineer in Germany. Member of the staff of the legation at Berlin 1920-23. On the staff of the Ministry of Public Works 1925. Appointed Chief of Railway Construction about that time. Interested in various engineering projects in Tehran and in a spinning factory. Director of the Port of Pahlavi 1930. Arrested and tried for complicity in irregularities in the Ministry of Roads and Communications, February 1936; sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine. Exonerated after the fall of Reza Shah. In 1943 engaged in contracting work. Appointed Inspector of Railways in August 1945 and Director-General January 1947. Relieved of this post January 1949. Was selected as independent chairman of a Workers' Congress held in February 1951, under auspices of Ministry of Labour, and for a few months in 1952 associated with the Iranian Trades Union Congress. Has an important interest in a sulphur mine at Semnan. December 1953-April 1955 Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Roads and Communications under Zahedi.

His mother was a daughter of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. He is married to a Russian and has a son being educated in England. He speaks Russian and French fluently and has a fair knowledge of English. Cousin of Khusrau Hedayat. Professes friendship towards us but has a reputation for unreliability and dishonesty. A heavy gambler. Reported to have close connexions with French and German firms, whose interests he espouses assiduously to our disadvantage.

71. Hedāyat, Khusrau Bahman

Born c. 1908. Brother of General Abdullah Hedāyat. A qualified mechanical engineer. Assistant Head of the Iranian State Railways, May 1944, and appointed Director-General November 1944. Relieved of post early 1945 but reappointed for a few months in October 1946. One of the first members of Qavam's Democrat Party (September 1946) and was made responsible for organising a trade union section of the party to oppose the Tudeh movement. Obtained an appreciable following among workers, especially on the State Railway, presided at two congresses in Tehran in 1947 when the Federation of Trades Unions of the Workers of Iran (E.S.K.I.) was formed (this being the Democrat Party organisation in disguise), and in August 1947 became its first secretary. Elected to 15th Majles for Tehran in 1947. Deputy for Tehran in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, June 1949. Elected president of Asian Federation of Labour January 1950. Failed to get elected to the 16th Majles from Tehran 1950. Apart from short visits to Tehran, in Europe doing business

from June 1950 until he replaced his cousin, Ezzatullah Hedāyat, as Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Roads when Ali became Premier in April 1955.

At one time represented workers on High Labour Council and other joint negotiating bodies, and was for some time a member of the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. Has little in common with the working class, and only a slight knowledge of the principles of trade unionism and insignificant organising abilities. Used his position to improve his own status and settle personal scores, but no suggestion of dishonesty.

He was previously married to a Belgian who left him a few years ago. Has influence at Court, particularly with Princess Ashraf.

Speaks French.

72. Hejāzi, Abdul Husain, Major-General (*Sarkeshgar*)

Born about 1905. At St. Cyr from 1924 and has spent in all about sixteen years in France. An instructor at the Military Academy in 1943, where he took strong measures against the Tudeh Party. In March 1945 went with a military mission to France. In July 1946 appointed Commander of the 10th Division. In September of the same year he was summoned to Tehran and arrested illegally by Muzaffer Firuz on a trumped-up charge (which was a Qavam-us-Saltaneh gambit) of plotting with the British and the tribes. His arrest quickly raised a storm in high army circles and he was released and took charge of the 3rd Bureau of the General Staff in October. Promoted *Sarip* (Brigadier) in March 1947 and commanded the 7th Division until appointed Commandant of the Military Academy in Tehran in September 1948. Accompanied the Shah on his visit to England in 1948, to the United States in 1949 and 1954, and to Pakistan in 1950.

In June 1950 made Deputy Chief of the General Staff while still remaining Commandant of the Military Academy. Chief of Police for a few months in 1951 but relieved in May and again became Commandant of the Military Academy until July 1952. Retired by Musaddeq in August 1952. Arrested for a few days after the events of February 1953.

Reinstated after Musaddeq fell in August 1953 and appointed G.O.C. III Corps in Kermanshah.

Always appears reasonably friendly. A good general reputation and regarded as comparatively honest. In army circles he is considered a strong candidate for the post of Chief of the General Staff.

Speaks French and English.

73. Hekmat, 'Ali Asghar

Born about 1894. A Shirazi and cousin to Sardar Fakher. At the Church Missionary Society School at Shiraz, 1908-09. Well-read in Arabic. Went to Tehran in 1914, where he entered the American College, graduating in 1917. Joined the Ministry of Public Instruction as an inspector. Unsuccessful candidate for the 5th Majles in 1923. Employed in the Ministry of Education until about 1930, when he went to Paris to study law. Returned to Tehran in September 1933 to take charge of the Ministry of Education as Acting Minister. Raised to the rank of Minister in February 1936. Dismissed July 1938, owing to the Shah's displeasure about a telegram connected with the Paris Exhibition, but restored to favour as Minister of the Interior, February 1939. Resigned March 1940. Was proposed for Minister, Berlin, but the German Government hesitated about his *agrément*. When it did come the Shah decided to re-employ him as Minister of the Interior instead, but dismissed him in June 1940.

Minister of Industry and Commerce in Furughi's Cabinet in 1941, and had a good deal to do with the negotiations about the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Health March 1942. Minister of Justice in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943, but resigned in July owing to differences of opinion with his chief. Headed cultural missions to India 1944 and again in 1947. Delegate to United Nations Education Conference 1945. Minister without Portfolio June and September 1947 under Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O., November 1947. Head of Persian delegation to Tashkent for centenary of poet Nava'i April 1948. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs under Sa'ed, November 1948. Became Minister without Portfolio in same Cabinet January to March 1950. Then continued his university work. August 1953, Minister without Portfolio under Zuhedi. January 1954, appointed Ambassador to India, returning for a short visit in summer 1954 for the Avicenna celebrations. Has also served as president of the Persian U.N.E.S.C.O. Committee and on the Ancient Monuments Commission; and been taken up by Princess Shams. In 1952 member of the Persian Preparatory Committee for the Vienna Peace Conference and since about 1947 a member of the Directing Board of the Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society.

The author of some literary works, he has been for many years a professor of Persian history and literature at Tehran University. Friendly and shrewder than he at first appears. He is eminently a professor and not a man of action, and although he is not generally popular he has considerable influence in his own particular circle. Rich, with a reputation for dishonesty.

Speaks both English and French, but neither well, although he has translated some of Shakespeare's works into Persian.

74. Hekmat, Rezā (Sardār Fākher)

Born Shiraz about 1888. Cousin of 'Ali Asghar Hekmat. During the 1914-18 war was a determined enemy of Qavam-ul-Mulk and friendly with the Qashqa'is. After the war settled down in Tehran and was employed in various Government appointments. Governor-General of Kerman 1940-41. Head of the Statistics and Civil Status Office, 1942. Elected to the 14th Majles 1944 for Shiraz. He is still friendly with the Qashqa'i Khans. Appointed Governor-General, Kerman, June 1946. Was a member of Central Committee of Iran Democrat Party. Elected Deputy for Shiraz in 15th Majles.

Elected President of Majles October 1947. On the fall of Qavam in December 1947 was a candidate for the Premiership. Leader of the dissident group of Qavam's Democrat Party. Re-elected President of the Majles April 1948 and again in October and April 1949. A member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Shiraz April 1949. In July 1949 he founded the Socialist Party of Persia, which came to nothing. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Shiraz and Lar, autumn 1949. Deputy for Shiraz in 16th Majles and elected President of the Majles February 1950, being re-elected in February 1951. There were no elections held in Shiraz for the 17th Majles, largely because Musaddeq wanted to keep Sardar Fakher out of the Majles. March 1954, he was elected Deputy for Shiraz to 18th Majles and elected its President April 1954 and again in April 1955.

A corpulent and polite man. More intelligent than he appears. Sensible and helpful. Is popular and has considerable influence in the Majles. His chief failing is a love of gambling, which does not encourage financial probity. An experienced politician.

75. Heshmati, 'Abbās

Born c. 1895, a Qajar prince, the son of Sardar Heshmat. Educated in France; speaks French.

After serving for some time in the army he was elected to the 14th Majles from Mahallat. In that Majles he was a member of the *Kazemi* Party. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh in January 1947 and held until the elections in Mahallat were over—his bitter rival, Shahab Khusrauvari, who he defeated for the 14th Majles, was elected. Released after promising to co-operate with Qavam and appointed Governor of Hamadan January 1947. In August of the same year was appointed Governor-General of Mazandaran where he remained until transferred to Kermanshah in February 1949. A Member of the Constituent Assembly for Mahallat April 1949. Relieved of Governor-Generalship January 1950.

Governor-General of Isfahan, August 1950–April 1951. Governor-General of Gilan October 1951–May 1953. March 1954, elected Deputy for Mahallat in 18th Majles. Member of Persian parliamentary delegation which visited the United Kingdom in July 1955.

Very rich and fond of the good life. Well in with the Shah.

76. Humm, Dr. Ahmad

Born in Tehran about 1906. Son of a prosperous fruiterer, Haji Reza Quli, who sent him to France for his education. He married one of the Sudavar family of Khurasan. On his return to Persia Humm practised as a lawyer in Tehran. He entered politics with the now defunct *'Edalat* Party. In 1950 Cabinet Under-Secretary under Mansur and Director-General of Propaganda Department. Also a member of the Civil Service Purge Commission. Appointed assistant to the Minister of Court ('Ala) in March 1951, in which job he made no secret of his opposition to Musaddeq. August 1952 transferred to post as Supervisor of the Development Bank for Crown Lands until March 1953, when he resumed his private law practice. A professor of Tehran University. A leading member of the Hafez Club, a Tehran politico-masonic group. Fairly close to General Arfa.

He is friendly, intelligent and honest but rather indecisive. Politically ambitious. Regarded with disfavour by the Americans. Speaks French and English.

77. Issayeff (or Issayan), Ramon

A Caucasian Armenian born about 1895 and one of the biggest businessmen in Tehran. Has the reputation of being pro-Soviet although according to some people this is merely cover for his intense desire to realise an independent Armenia. He has close relatives in Soviet Armenia. He is, however, mistrusted by the majority of Armenians, who have defeated his recurring attempts to have himself elected as their Majles Deputy. He was a prime mover in the scheme for getting Armenian peasantry to return to Soviet Armenia in 1947 and in this connexion handled large sums of money subscribed by American Armenians. Attended Moscow Economic Conference in 1952. Is said to have made a great deal of money as a contractor to the Red Army occupation forces during the war. Is an able and resourceful financier. In his plans to increase his company holdings he has met with opposition because of his pro-Soviet reputation, but he has secured a large interest in several important industrial and commercial enterprises; he has of late over-extended himself in the field of agencies as well as, it is believed, financially, and a number of principals have withdrawn their patronage from dissatisfaction with his services; but his resiliency is such that he will probably effect a comeback. He is a board member of the

Caviar Purchasing Company and is a considerable shareholder in Iranian Airways. He entertains lavishly with funds which, it is reported—especially among the Armenian community—may well emanate from the Soviet Embassy. Whatever his sympathies, money is no doubt the main motive in his dealings.

Although uncouth in appearance he is well-educated and speaks excellent Russian. In spite of his reputation as a crook he is kind-hearted and generous. Drinks heavily.

78. Jakhānāni, Amānullāh, General (*Sepahbud*)

Born about 1890, son of the late Amanullah Mirza. Zia-ud-Dauleh (a descendant of Fath Ali Shah), who committed suicide in the British Consulate in Tabriz, where he had taken refuge from the Russians in 1917.

Joined the Persian Cossack Artillery School in 1907 and then graduated in Russia where he served two years with the Imperial Guard.

Was made a general, and became Chief of the General Staff in 1922. He visited France and England in 1923. Although a Qajar prince, he favoured the change of dynasty in 1925.

Held various military commands with periodical falls from and restorations to royal favour. He was appointed Director-General of Industry in March 1936. Dismissed in July 1937. Imprisoned in July 1939 until September 1941, when he was liberated and made Minister of the Interior. Minister of Roads and Communications December 1941. Minister of War March 1942 and employed in the autumn at court as a kind of aide-de-camp general to the Shah.

General Officer Commanding, Fars, September 1943. Commandant, Cadet College, 1946, until November when he went on a tour of training establishments in France and Belgium. On his return in February 1947 he was appointed to the sinecure post of Inspector to the Eastern Forces in the Ministry of War.

First vice-president of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society March 1945.

Retired from the army on being appointed Senator for Fars February 1950. March 1954, appointed Senator for Reza'iyeh. June 1955 appointed head of Persian team for the delimitation of the northern frontiers under the Persian-Soviet frontier and financial agreement of December 1954.

Speaks Russian and French fluently; has a Russian, as well as at least one Persian, wife. Has been very active for some years in encouraging sport, both in the army and in civilian clubs, and is an active member of the Animal Welfare Society. One of his sons, Husain, studied four years in the Soviet Union and was then forced to leave by the Russians before completing his studies.

79. Jam, Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Has had a long career in the customs and other Government departments, and was, for more than ten years, Persian secretary to the French Legation in Tehran. Director of the Alimentation Service, Tehran, from 1916 to 1920, where he did good work. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the short-lived Cabinet of Sayyed Zia-ud-Din 1921. Acting Minister of Finance January 1922, and Minister of Finance October 1923 to August 1924. Appointed as assistant to the Prime Minister, Riza Khan, until the latter became provisional head of the State on October 31, 1925, and then assistant to the two following Prime Ministers. Appointed Persian Minister to Brussels in 1926, but did not proceed. Appointed Governor of Kerman Province in September 1927, and Governor-General of Khurasan in April 1928. Recalled from Khurasan in December 1928 and appointed Minister of Public Works. Returned to Khurasan as Governor-General in August 1929. Appointed Minister of the

Interior in Furughi's Cabinet of 1933, and succeeded him as Prime Minister in December 1935. Headed the mission to Egypt on the Crown Prince's betrothal to Princess Fauzieh June-July 1938 and received the Order of Muhammad Ali from King Farouk. Minister of Court October 1939. Ambassador to Egypt 1941. Minister for War September-December 1947. Minister of Court January 1948. Accompanied the Shah to the United Kingdom July 1948. Ambassador at Rome June 1949-July 1950. Then mostly on French Riviera until April 1954, when he returned: May-December 1954 Governor-General of Azarbaijan. Elected Senator for Kerman April 1955.

An amiable and easy-going man who speaks French fluently. Not averse to being bribed, if done tastefully and not with cash. More at home in ceremonial than in administration.

His Camberley Staff College Officer son was married to Princess Shams, since divorced.

80. Jazayeri, Dr. Shams-ud-Din

Born in Tehran, 1905, of a family of Khuzistan Sayyeds. Educated at Tehran University and Law School. Joined the Ministry of Education in 1925 and then in 1932 went to France, whence he returned in 1938 having obtained his doctorate.

Director of Instruction in Ministry of Education 1938. Later transferred to Ministry of Finance and became head of Tobacco Monopoly in 1941. Adviser on Millsbaugh Price Stabilisation Committee 1943. *En disponibilité* August 1944. Legal Adviser, Ministry of Finance, March 1946, and Legal Adviser, Ministry of Labour, 1946-48. Member of board of directors of Iran Insurance Company 1948. Member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Resigned August 1949.

Minister of Education under Razmara, June 1950. Resigned January 1951 after a public disagreement with G. H. Furuhan about the Supplemental Oil Agreement. In 17th Majles elections had Makki's promise of support, but elections were not held in his constituency. In private business until March 1954, when elected Deputy for Tehran in 18th Majles. Absented himself from vote on 1954 oil agreement.

Keenly interested in education. Also has considerable knowledge of labour and social developments and assisted in preparation of Persian Labour Code.

Rather a feeble character and an opportunist. Flirted with the National Front. Speaks French. Married in 1941 Mah Munir, daughter of Dr. Musaddab Nafisi, a charming and intelligent woman.

81. Kalhān, Mas'ud

Born in Tehran 1886. Educated in Persia and at Saint-Cyr. Joined the gendarmerie in 1913 and rose to the rank of colonel. Minister of War under Sayyed Zia-ud-Din Tubataba'i after his *coup d'Etat* of 1921. After Reza Khan's *coup d'Etat* he joined the Ministry of Education and became a teacher in secondary schools and later at Tehran University. Was also professor of geography at the Military Academy. Minister of Education under Mansur April-June 1950. Head of Theological Faculty, March 1951.

Of simple tastes. Pleasant and quiet, a good teacher, and honest. Speaks French.

82. Kalvān, Amir

Born 1917. Has lived most of his life at Isfahan as an engineer. With Shams Sadri was active in the formation of the first Isfahan trade union in 1943-44. The Tudeh movement attempted to absorb this union in 1945. Shams Sadri yielded without much struggle, but Kalvān organised resistance to Tudeh, as a result of which a personal attack was made on him and he lost the use of one eye. In 1945 went

to Paris Conference of the I.L.O. as workers' delegate. Had to lie low until the Tudeh eclipse in the winter of 1946, when he revived his Isfahan union. In 1947 affiliated his union to the E.M.K.A. Federation, but later withdrew because of E.M.K.A.'s venture into politics. Again affiliated in 1949. By June 1949, because of strong opposition from employers, E.S.K.I. and the civil and military authorities, the size of his union was seriously reduced.

Elected a member of the High Labour Council in 1951 and subsequently appointed vice-chairman. In 1951 attended I.L.O. Conference as Workers' Adviser and also the Congress of I.C.F.T.U. at Milan as representative of the new Iranian Trades Union Congress, which he had helped to form with Aziz Qezelbash, becoming its General-Secretary. Afterwards visited the United Kingdom. In 1952 attended I.L.O. Conference as workers' representative in Government delegation, and again in 1954 and 1955. Visited the United Kingdom and met Ministry of Labour and British T.U.C. officials in 1954 and 1955. Attended I.C.F.T.U. Congress at Vienna in 1955.

He is popular with his members and has considerable power over them. He dislikes the dependence of Persian trade unions on politics and does his best to keep himself politically independent. Violently anti-Russian and anti-Tudeh, for this reason has the friendship of certain religious leaders and Members of Parliament. Is thought quite well of in Persian Ministry of Labour, where he is recognised as an honest and earnest worker. Many Isfahan employers are strongly opposed to him because of his obstinacy in pursuing the cause of the workers and his refusal to be bribed. A likeable person, who seems to show more understanding of trade unionism than his collaborators.

83. Kāmbakhsh, 'Abd-us-Samad

Born 1905 at Qazvin; his father was 'Ain-ul-Mamalek, a Qajar prince and wealthy landowner at Qazvin. Entered Persian army about 1923; sent to Leningrad for training and became a pilot there; also imbibed the doctrines of communism with enthusiasm. On return was active Communist and was known as the Persian representative on the Comintern. Sentenced to death by Reza Shah, but was pardoned and then imprisoned with fifty-three other Communists. Exiled in 1940 to Bandar Abbas; released on the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941.

Elected to the 14th Majles for Qazvin with the help of the Soviet representative. Generally regarded as one of the more decent Tudeh members. At one time believed to be dissatisfied with the complete subservience of his party to Soviet interests. Put in charge of the publicity of the Tudeh Party in August 1944. Married to a Persian related to the Kia family who acts as a midwife in Tehran.

Believed to have taken refuge at Soviet Summer Embassy after the attempt on the Shah, February 1949. Sentenced to death *in absentia*, May 1949, for acting against the Constitutional Monarchy. His wife was arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment. His present whereabouts is unknown.

Reputation for honesty. Intelligent, active, and a good orator.

84. Kāshāni, Sayyed Abdul-Qāsem

Born about 1888. Educated at Kerbela and lived there for many years as a *mujtahed*. Expelled by the Iraq Government in 1922 for non-co-operation with our policy in that country, and came back to Persia. He kept in the background during Reza Shah's reign, but on the latter's abdication in 1941

came back into prominence and achieved a certain popularity partly owing to his reputation as an opponent of Reza Shah. His anti-British bias, a legacy from 1922, led him into intrigues with German agents and in August 1943 he fled from Tehran to avoid arrest. He was arrested by British security authorities in June 1944 and confessed to having helped German agents. Released in August 1945. He nursed a bitter enmity towards the British. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh July 1946 and released in November.

In June 1948 he instigated demonstrations against Hazhir after the latter had been elected Prime Minister. Arrested by military authorities after attempt on Shah's life, February 4, 1949, and banished to Khurramabad, but later allowed to leave the country for the holy places of Syria and spent some time in Beirut.

Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. Elected to the 16th Majles from Tehran as a protégé of the National Front. Returned to Tehran June 1950 and immediately became active in anti-A.I.O.C. agitation. Was associated with the Feda'iyan-e-Islam at the time of the assassination of Razmara, March 1951, but they later broke away from him. Although re-elected for Tehran to the 17th Majles and its president for a time during this term, he never attended the proceedings.

Musaddeq owed much to the politico-religious support which Kashani provided. Began falling out with Musaddeq November 1952 and broke with him in March 1953. After latter's overthrow in August 1953 Kashani was at first on fairly good terms with Zahedi, but a few months later began to oppose him. Since early 1954 has been noticeably quiet apart from a few threats and rumblings.

Kāshāni is venal and an opportunist of the worst kind. His pretensions to being a religious leader are weak.

85. Kāzemi, Bāqer (Muhazzab-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1887. Educated in the School of Political Science in Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, being first attached to the Russian section, and later employed in the cabinet of the Ministry. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" in 1921. Appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Washington in 1925. Sent to Iraq to inspect Persian Consulates in 1928. Later in the same year appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Kabul, but because of the troubles could only proceed as far as Herat, where he remained as Persian Consul-General. Appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads and Communications in 1930, and Acting Minister in 1931. Appointed substantive Minister of Roads and Communications in May 1931, but had to resign in February 1932 owing, it is said, to being unable to build roads fast enough for Reza Shah. He was subsequently appointed Persian Minister in Bagdad, towards the end of 1932. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1933.

Went on official visits to Afghanistan and India November-December 1935, and was the guest of the Viceroy at Delhi. Resigned March 1936 and unemployed until appointed Governor-General of Eastern Azarbaijan April 1937. Ambassador, Kabul, July 1938. Ambassador, Ankara, October 1939.

Minister of Public Health December 1941 to March 1942. Then Minister of Finance in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, but resigned before its fall in circumstances which did him little credit. Appointed to Ankara as ambassador in May 1943, but did not proceed; the Turks appeared to like him as little as the Iraqis, who have not

forgotten how he opposed them in the dispute concerning the Shatt-al-Arab waters. Minister of Education in Sa'ed's reshuffled Cabinet of August 1944. Delegate to the United Nations, January 1946. Minister to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, April 1946.

In January 1948 he was offered the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet but he remained in Stockholm. Presented his credentials as Minister to Finland also February 1949. Nominated Senator for Tehran February 1950, but did not return to Persia until September 1950, when he allied himself with the National Front and bitterly opposed Razmara. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Musaddeq, May 1951, is was said as nominee of Kashani, with whom he is very friendly. July 1952, became Minister of Finance in Musaddeq's new Cabinet. Ambassador in Paris March 1953 until dismissed August 1953. In bad odour with the Shah. Returned to Persia December 1954. May 1955 arrested and deported to the provinces by the Alā Government as a counter to increased Musaddeqi activity.

Disagreeable, stupid and obstructive. Hypocritical and self-important.

86. Keshāvarz, Faridun, Dr.

Born in 1906. Partly educated in France as a doctor of medicine and formerly practised at Pahlavi. Then ran a large and prosperous children's clinic in Tehran. In 1944 became one of the leading members of the Tudeh Party, of which he is a member of the Central Committee, and since then has been responsible in large measure for the organisation of the party. Editor of the Tudeh newspaper *Razm*. Tudeh Deputy for Pahlavi in the 14th Majles. In December 1945 was invited by the Soviet Government to attend ceremonies held in Tashkent on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Central Asian/Middle East College. Minister for Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946, but was dropped in the Cabinet reshuffle of October of the same year. During his tenure of office he succeeded in filling many important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

After the attempt on the Shah's life of February 4, 1949, he was reported to have taken refuge in the Russian Embassy. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949 for actions hostile to the constitutional monarchy. In early 1955 believed to be in Vienna.

Immoral, completely unscrupulous and reported to be a perfect tool for the Russians. Not without money. An accomplished public speaker.

87. Khājeh-Nuri, Ebrāhīm

Born about 1905. Educated in Belgium, where he studied law and psychology and also Posts, Telegraph and Telephone administration. In 1932 head of the P.T.T. Training School, Tehran. 1933-35 collaborated with General Faslullah Zahedi in the Ford agency. In 1936 began practising as a barrister. 1937-39 worked in various State trading organisations. Founder member and Secretary of the *Edalat* Party from 1942. Unsuccessful candidate for the Tehran elections in 1944. Director-General of the Publications and Propaganda Department in 1944 under Suhaili and Sa'ed and again in 1947 under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, when he also held the office of Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister. Elected Senator from Tehran October 1949 and again in March 1954. Legal Adviser to the Tehran Chamber of Commerce since 1944. Member of the Persian parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom, July 1955.

A well-known and popular writer, his best-known work being "Bāzīgārān-e-'Asr-e-Talā'i," a series of twelve biographies of outstanding personalities in

Reza Shah's reign. For some years he has produced a well-known fortnightly newsletter on political affairs. As a historian he is most readable but not very accurate. In politics he is an idealist of marked pro-British tendencies. Has shown political courage. Constructive and a reformer. Less personal ambition than many Tehran politicians. Tends to be over-subtle.

A not uncritical friend of Zahedi. Although friendly with a number of its members, opposed the Ala Government (1955).

Speaks French and some English.

88. Kurus, 'Isā (Esau)

Born about 1896. A commissioned officer in the South Persian Rifles during the 1914-18 war. For many years a leading and reputable merchant of Tehran, representative of Imperial Chemical Industries, Metropolitan Vickers and many other important British firms. Has a branch in London, where he lives for long periods, alternating with his brother Hasan, who is of similar quality, but with a more forceful personality. Fell into disgrace under Reza Shah through no fault of his own. Stood for the Majles for Tehran 1943, without success, and now no longer believes in mixing politics with business. Vice-president of Tehran Chamber of Commerce, 1942-43. Member of Tehran Municipal Council, 1943. Member of board of directors of Iranian Airways, 1946.

Speaks excellent English and is well disposed towards us. Patriotic and honest. A man of rare integrity.

89. Lankarāni, Shaikh Husain

Born about 1890 in Russian Azarbaijan. Religious education in Tehran. During and after first world war collaborated with Sulaiman Mirza and his Socialists. Opposed Reza Shah and was deported to provinces for two years. After that lay fairly low until end of latter's reign.

Elected Deputy for Ardebil in the 14th Majles. Owed election to Soviet intervention. Although believed to be opposed to the Pahlavi Dynasty, in 1943-44 he was employed by the Shah to stir up trouble against Sayyed Zia-ud-Din. Collaborated with Qavam-us-Saltaneh, who in turn arrested him July 1946, but released him in December.

Arrested in March 1948, together with his three brothers, in connexion with the murder of the journalist Muhammad Mas'ud. Subsequently released. Again arrested with his brothers after the attempted assassination of the Shah, February 4, 1949, but again later released. Later collaborated with Musaddeq until July 1952. For some months after coming to power in August 1953, Zahedi used Lankarāni and his brothers to keep in hand the Azarbaijan mobs in South Tehran, over whom they have considerable influence.

Noted Tehran intriguer, mob orator and trouble-maker. Veneal and double-faced, but probably not quite so bad as his brothers. The latter, Ahmad, Murtezu and Mustafa, have been associated with various Tudeh cover-organisations. In December 1954 Mustafa was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment by a military tribunal ostensibly for insults to the Shah some years previously.

90. Makki, Husain

Born c. 1915. Basic education in Tehran. Did his military service in the air force and rose to rank of sergeant but was discharged on charges of stealing technical equipment.

Dogsboddy to Malek-ush-Shuara in his researches into Persian political history, 1941. Subsequently edited a few books on this subject himself. Deputy Mayor of Tehran, 1946. Director-General of

Developments and Improvements, Ministry of Labour, 1947. Elected to the 15th Majles from Arak and to the 16th from Tehran. Secretary-General of the National Front and special protégé of Dr. Musaddeq. Talked out the Supplemental Oil Agreement in a four-day speech mostly written by Engineer Hasibi, July 1949. Rapporteur of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950, and of the Mixed Oil Commission, May 1951. One of the three-man delegation from the Mixed Commission to supervise take-over of A.I.O.C. in Khuzistan, June 1951, and made money in the process. Deputy for Tehran in the 17th Majles, heading the poll. In September 1952 began, with Kashani, to turn against Musaddeq and openly opposed him from March 1953. Gaoled by Musaddeq a few days before the latter's fall in August 1953. After his release lay fairly low.

A loud-mouthed man with no ideas of his own; extremist and irresponsible. An unprincipled adventurer. Now comfortably off.

91. Mansur (Rajah) 'Ali, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1888. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was employed in the United Kingdom section. He subsequently transferred to the Tribunal section, where he rose to be Director of the Civil Court. Appointed Director of the United Kingdom section in 1917. Appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1920. Created C.B.E. 1920. Appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan in April 1927, and held that post until January 1931, when he was made Minister of the Interior. Transferred to the post of Minister of Roads and Communications in January 1933. Arrested in January 1936 on charges of misappropriation and incompetence. Acquitted August 1936. Rehabilitated as Minister of Industry and Mines August 1938. Selected by Reza Shah for the post of Prime Minister June 1940, it was to him that the joint Russo-British ultimatum was delivered on August 25, 1941. As the result of the subsequent events he resigned in September 1941. Governor-General of Khurasan February 1942, in which post he showed some energy in collecting wheat, though his administration of the funds of the shrine laid him open to various accusations of embezzlement. Recalled from Khurasan in the autumn of 1945. Governor-General, Azarbaijan, December 1946-July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Tehran April 1949. President of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Prime Minister March-June 1950. Ambassador at Rome July 1950-December 1951. Ambassador to Turkey November 1953, but his supporters in Tehran continued to press his candidature for the premiership.

A clever but dishonest man, addicted to money. An effective diplomat. Speaks French.

92. Mas'ud, Akbar (Sārem-ud-Dauleh)

Born 1885. A son of Mas'ud Mirza Zell-us-Sultan, son of Nāser-ud-Din Shah. Was early recognised as one of the most intelligent of the Zell's fourteen sons, and eventually succeeded to the major part of his father's inheritance. Minister of Public Works and Commerce, 1915. Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1915. Governor of Isfahan in 1917. Minister of Finance in Vusūq-ud-Dauleh's Cabinet of 1919, one of the triumvirate who arranged the abortive Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1920; Governor of Kermanshah and Hamadan in November 1920. Governor-General of Fars, 1922-23, and again in 1929. Arrested shortly after the fall of Firuz Mirza in 1929, and kept under surveillance near Tehran for several months. Thereafter lived quietly in Tehran till 1932, when he was allowed to return to his vast properties in and around Isfahan.

Killed his own mother at his father's instigation on a point of honour in 1906. He seems to have lived down the odium of this deed. Has been several times to Europe and has visited England. The two-fold stigma of being pro-British and a Qajar prevented him holding office during the time of Reza Shah. At the abdication of Reza Shah he at first continued aloof from public affairs, though he kept in touch with what was going on. He gradually became the unofficial controller of almost everything in Isfahan, displaying commendable initiative in supporting such improvement projects as the Kuhrang tunnel and the thermal power station in Isfahan. He takes a great pride in his model village at Asgharabad, near Isfahan.

Headed the poll from Isfahan in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Isfahan and in Feraidan, autumn 1949.

Has one surviving son and two daughters. A famous hunter. Is on good terms with the present Royal Family and accommodates members of it when they visit Isfahan. Tries to keep in with everybody. Speaks English and French fluently and is pleasant-mannered, clever and intelligent. Regarded as a British stooge. Not popular with the mass of Isfahanis.

93. Mas'udi, 'Abbās

Born in 1895 in Tehran. Educated in Tehran, and for a year in France. A journalist by profession. Proprietor with his brother, Javad Mas'udi, of one of the two principal vernacular daily papers in Tehran (the *Ettela'at*) and of the French and English daily papers *Journal de Téhéran* and *Tehran Journal* and of weekly and monthly *Ettela'at*. Owns an up-to-date press which does much work for the Government publicity services. He accompanied the present Shah, when Crown Prince, to Iraq, Syria and Egypt on his wedding tour as press representative, and kept the Tehran press supplied with a stream of accounts of the Prince's doings, in that quasi-religious style that alone was permitted to Persians when speaking of their monarchy. A Deputy in the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Majles.

In the 13th Majles came out strongly in opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh, and was severely beaten by some of his opponents in the riots of the 8th December, 1942. Visited Palestine and Egypt in May-June 1943. Appointed Director of Iranian Airways December 1944. Visited United States in April 1945, as one of several representatives of the Tehran press invited by the American Government. Covered the U.N. meetings in London in early 1946 as unofficial representative of the Persian press. Returned from America August 1947 and took over direction of *Ettela'at*. Elected to 15th Majles for Tehran which he also represented in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Elected Senator for Tehran October 1949. Attended the Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952. Elected Senator for Tehran March 1954. Member of Persian press delegation to Turkey, May-June 1955.

Can be relied on to keep in with whatever Government is in power. Few, if any, principles.

Speaks French and has an attractive wife. Is believed to keep most of his considerable fortune in Switzerland, where he owns one or more factories.

94. Matin-Daftari, Dr. Ahmad

Born in Tehran 1898. A nephew of Dr. Musaddeq, whose daughter he has married. Educated in Tehran, partly at the American College. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1918.

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Persian secretary to the German Legation in Tehran 1920-23. Returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1923-27. Joined the Ministry of Justice in 1927, and appointed Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal. Sent to Europe by the Ministry of Justice in 1929 to take up an advanced course of law, during which he studied in Germany, and for a time was sworn in as a judge in a German court. Obtained a degree as doctor of law. Returned to Persia 1931. Director-General of the Ministry of Justice 1932. Acting Minister of Justice for a short time in 1933. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice 1934. Represented Persia at the International Law Conference held in Berlin in 1935. Minister of Justice 1936. Member of the mission to Egypt for the Crown Prince's marriage February-April 1939. Prime Minister October 1939.

Appeared pro-German in various negotiations while Prime Minister and was forced by Reza Shah to resign in June 1940, perhaps as a scapegoat. Arrested by the Allied forces as a suspect June 1943, but soon released. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946.

Stood, unsuccessfully, as candidate for Tehran in elections for 15th Majles, but was elected from Meshkin-Shahr. An active member of the Opposition which defeated Qavam-us-Saltaneh in December 1948. Elected Senator for Tehran October 1949.

President of the Persian United Nations Association since 1948. He is very active in this capacity and uses it as a sounding-board for neutralist ideas. Member of the Mixed Oil Commission May 1951, and of three-man delegation to supervise the take-over of the A.I.O.C. June 1951. Attended the Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952. In 1955 was on the Preparatory Committee for the Warsaw Youth Festival.

Speaks French, German and English; he has travelled in England, where (1955) his son is at Cambridge and his daughter at school.

Would undoubtedly like to be Prime Minister again. His ideas on foreign policy are distinctly "neutralist" and he plays in closely with Dr. Tara Chand, Indian Ambassador, 1951-. More cultivated, widely read and travelled than many Persians, possessed of a good intellect and with considerable conversational gifts. Dr. Matin-Daftari is sly and unreliable, and has a reputation for corruption.

95. Mehrān, Dr. Mahmud

Born c. 1911. Schooling in Tehran followed by university education in France, where he graduated as a Doctor of Literature. About 1938 returned to Tehran to work in the Ministry of Education. 1944 became a Director-General in the Ministry and 1947 went to the Persian Embassy in Paris for two years to supervise Persian students in Europe. In June 1950 became Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Education in Razmara's Government. April 1951, after latter's assassination, Mehrān returned to his Paris job until early 1954. Whilst in Paris did his best to counteract Communist influence amongst Persian students.

Refused Zahedi's offer to become Minister of Education, but in July 1954 accepted post of Head of the State Social Insurance Organisation. In December made Head of the Iran Insurance Co., another State concern. In early 1955 also became a "special adviser" to Zahedi, and in April 1955 Minister of Education under Ali.

Honest, serious and hard-working. Intelligent, constructive and a reformer. Well liked but has not got a very strong personality and is not the type for the rougher sides of politics. Well disposed towards us.

Speaks French and Italian. Italian wife.

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96. Mesbah-Fatemi, 'Ali Naqi

Born about 1898. Related to Mehdi Fatemi, but disclaims any connexion with Saifpur Fatemi and his brothers. Has had a career under the Ministry of the Interior, in various posts and inspection duties. Vice-Governor of Isfahan 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan in 1940 and again in 1943. Replaced August 1949.

Speaks English and French. Got on well with the authorities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with whom he co-operated satisfactorily during the labour troubles of the summer of 1946; but regarded as an A.I.O.C. and, therefore, British stooge. Dishonest and of generally bad reputation.

97. Mesbâhzâdeh, Dr. Mustafâ

Born c. 1904 in Bandar Abbas. His father was a senior servant of Qavam-ul-Mulk. Accompanied Qavam's son, Ali, to France for education, where Mesbâhzâdeh obtained a doctorate in law. Returned to Tehran in 1929 and was employed in the Ministry of Justice. Developed connexions with the Shah's Court through Ali Qavam, who was Princess Ashraf's first husband.

Owner of the newspaper *Kahtan* since late 1941. Head of Press and Propaganda Department, June 1943. He was the Shah's candidate for Bandar Abbas in the 14th Majles elections but was not successful. He was, however, elected from that constituency to the 15th Majles and also represented it in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949. Went to the United States in November 1949, to cover the Shah's visit for *Kahtan*. Deputy for Bandar Abbas in the 16th and, being pro-Musaddeq, the 17th Majles. As a Deputy made a lot of money. Member of a Persian press delegation to Germany May 1955.

Speaks English and French. Socially pleasant and has a charming wife. Since the return of the Embassy has shown himself cautiously friendly towards us. Has a reputation for slipperiness and dishonesty and is certainly an accomplished trimmer. His newspaper office is the most efficient in Tehran.

98. Mufakhkham, Dr. Jamshid

Born c. 1910. Educated in Switzerland from an early age and only returned to Persia in 1942.

Head of the School of Arts and Crafts, autumn 1943. Director-General of Ministry of Commerce and Industry (later known as Ministry of National Economy), December 1946. Under-Secretary and Acting Minister of National Economy under Ala, March-April 1951. Appointed High Inspector when Musaddeq put in Zirakzadeh as Under-Secretary, May 1951. From early 1952 acted as Under-Secretary and for some time during his Minister's absence deputised for the latter. July 1952, appointed a board member of the Foreign Trade Department and in August 1953 made chairman. December 1954, Under-Secretary for Commercial Affairs in the Ministry of National Economy, continuing in this post under Ala Government until he resigned in June 1955.

An intelligent man, honest and conscientious; friendly and helpful towards us, but a rather confused personality. More recently has had his fingers in too many pies.

99. Muqaddam, Hasan, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890. Commanded at Mahabad in 1929. General Officer Commanding, North-West Division, December 1929. General Officer Commanding, Kurdistan Division, at Senneh, 1936. When in Kurdistan had a reputation for efficiency and energy. Was the undisputed ruler of the Province of Kurdistan from 1938 to 1941. General

Officer in command of the troops in the West when the Russo-British invasion took place in 1941, and after handing over to the invading forces retired to Tehran.

Being an old friend of Reza Shah he was retained in the army and in June 1942 was made Governor-General of Azarbaijan till August 1943. Ministry of War Inspector June 1945, but retired in 1948. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Maragheh.

Muqaddam gives the impression of being a clever though cautious old soldier, unable to resist the temptation to make money whenever possible. His daughter is married to Reza Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk.

100. Musaddeq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddeq-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1885; a nephew of Farman Farma. Studied law in Paris to a certain extent. Appointed Governor-General of Fars in 1920. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1921, and sought and obtained authority from Parliament to purge and reform that Ministry. However, during his six months' tenure of that portfolio he destroyed indiscriminately the good with the bad, and at the end the organisation was worse than before, as he proved himself entirely incapable of making reforms. Appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan in 1922, and in 1923 became Minister for Foreign Affairs for a period of four months. Elected Deputy to the 4th, 5th and 6th Majles from Tehran. Owing to his opposition to the Government in the 6th, steps were taken to prevent his election to the 7th Majles.

Imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated by Reza Shah, he spent the last few years of Reza's reign in his village near Tehran. Headed the poll in the Tehran Majles elections in 1944. Tried unsuccessfully to unseat Sayyed Zia.

Sponsored the Oil Law of December 1944 prohibiting the grant of any oil concession until after the departure of all foreign troops from Persia. Made a determined effort to be re-elected to 15th Majles but, though he obtained a large number of votes, was defeated by the candidates of the Iran Democrat Party.

Headed the poll in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran October 1949, but was not elected in the second stage. Led a deputation of twenty National Front supporters, who took *hast* in the Shah's Palace for five days in October 1949 as a protest against the conduct of the 16th Majles elections. Headed the poll in both the initial Tehran 16th Majles elections and the re-held ones in February 1950; with him were elected seven other members of his National Front.

Chairman of Majles Oil Commission, June 1950. Submitted proposal for nationalisation of oil industry, February 1951. Forced the Oil Commission to approve a general resolution in favour of oil nationalisation the day after Razmara's assassination, March 8, 1951. A demoralised and intimidated Majles and Senate approved the resolution unanimously and, when Ali refused to accept the nine-article Bill drawn up by the Oil Commission, voted in favour of Musaddeq becoming Prime Minister, which he agreed to do on condition that they first approved the nine-article Bill. He presented his Cabinet to the Shah on May 2, 1951, the same day as the Shah promulgated the nine-article Law.

From the summer of 1951 onwards his control of the 16th Majles gradually weakened as did his hold on public opinion. Despite his greatly weakened position he contrived to maintain himself in power until the opening of the 17th Majles, the elections to which were to a large extent rigged by his supporters.

Presented the Persian oil case to the United Nations Security Council, October-November 1951; also in the same connexion attended The Hague Court from May 28 to June 24, 1952. Obtained vote of inclination from the 17th Majles on July 6, 1952. Resigned July 17 after a dispute with the Shah over Musaddeq's wish to become Minister of Defence and replaced by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, who in turn resigned on July 19 after serious National Front and Tudeh riots in Tehran. Musaddeq again became Prime Minister with increased popularity and power. October 1952 closed down the Senate and broke off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. By this time some of his old colleagues were beginning to desert him. February 1953, almost succeeded in forcing the Shah to leave the country, August 1953, closed down the Majles after the so-called referendum. Began gaoling even more of his opponents, including some of his former colleagues. Dismissed by the Shah but did not obey until forced out by a popular uprising on August 19, 1953, which followed General Zahedi's more or less abortive *coup d'Etat*. Tried for treason and sentenced, December 1953, to three years' detention as from August 1953. The light sentence was due to the Shah's intervention. Appealed unsuccessfully in 1954. In 1955, up to the time of writing (July), nothing was heard from him in prison.

A clever political manipulator and demagogue with considerable histrionic talent. He worked on Persian xenophobia and popular discontent to make himself a national hero and by skilful use of intimidation secured the mastery of the 16th Majles and later the country. He had no positive programme for the betterment of his country and no understanding of practical problems, but kept going by creating one excitement after another. Opposed to any interference by the Shah in the conduct of Government business and eventually tried to force the latter off the Throne altogether. His reputation for honesty stood him in good stead with the Persian people. Still a name to conjure with in spite of all that has happened.

101. Mu'tamedî, 'Ali

Born about 1897. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about 1919. Served abroad as secretary at various posts; *chargé d'affaires* at Rome in 1933. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry (which dealt with British affairs) in 1934 and 1935. Transferred to direct the First Political Department June 1936. Hard-working and intelligent; a good type, who showed himself reasonable and conscientious in dealing with our affairs in the Ministry. Head of the Department of Registration of Land and Documents under the Ministry of Justice March 1938. When the Minister of Justice (Matin-Daftari) was made Prime Minister in October 1939, he took Mu'tamedî with him as Private Secretary.

Married the sister of Ghulam Ali Khajeh-Nuri. Private Secretary to the Prime Minister in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1942, and became Minister of Posts and Telegraphs for a few days at the end of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet February 1943. Was also in charge of the Road Transport Board in 1942 and 1943. Appointed Consul-General at Delhi July 1943. Member of Advisory Council of Anglo-Persian Institute 1943.

Became first Persian Ambassador to India 1947. Appointed to Hakimi's Cabinet as Minister of Roads and Communications January 1948 but did not accept office. Also refused Hazhir's offer of office June 1948. Resigned his ambassadorship in November 1948 as a protest against conditions in Persia. After that lived in retirement at a village near Tehran until July 1952, when the Shah made him manager

of the Imperial Land Bank. March 1953 appointed Head of the Shrine at Meshed, but refused a consecutive appointment as Governor-General of Khurasan because of his continued objections to being paid from public funds. April 1955 became Minister without Portfolio under Ala.

Honest and conscientious. Well-liked but not a strong character. Speaks French, Italian and a little English.

102. Nabil, Fazlullah

Born 1895.

Chargé d'affaires in London, end of 1937 to early 1941. Head of Confidential Office of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 1943. Head of Third Political Department, February 1944. Administrative member of delegation to San Francisco, April 1945, and to the United Nations, December 1945. Delegate to the United Nations, September 1947. Minister at Warsaw, 1948. Transferred to Stockholm, September 1950. Returned to Persia and appointed Under-Secretary at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1951 until August 1952, when Fatemi became Foreign Minister, in which post Nabil did his best to be helpful in adverse circumstances. Reappointed to Stockholm, December 1953.

One of the better members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speaks French and some English.

103. Nafisi, Habib

Born about 1909. Son of Dr. Mu'addeb-ud-Dauleh. Educated Toulouse University and Paris, qualifying as an engineer. Completed practical training in the United States (three years), Czechoslovakia and Germany. On return to Persia was employed as a technical expert in the administration and management of State factories and was for a time director of the Tehran Small Arms Factory. Then employed as Director-General in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, where he became increasingly interested in social problems and employment conditions. He drafted the first Persian Labour Law approved by the Council of Ministers in May 1946. Was appointed Under-Secretary of the newly-formed Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, to which labour functions previously performed by Ministry of Industry and Commerce were transferred in May 1946. In 1947 succeeded in separating propaganda functions from Ministry of Labour. It was almost entirely due to his enthusiastic and insistent efforts that the Labour Law was finally approved by the 15th Majles in June 1949. Replaced during Razmara régime, but was reappointed Under-Secretary and Acting Minister of Labour under 'Ali, March 1951. Remained Under-Secretary under Musaddeq until February 1952. November 1953. Head of the Industrial Organisation, June 1954. Under-Secretary for Industry to Zahedi's Cabinet and December 1954, also Under-Secretary for Industrial Affairs in the Ministry of National Economy. Continued in latter post under Ali Government (April 1955).

He shows a wide interest in social services whether or not within his official duties: in 1948 he established an experimental trade training centre in Tehran, he has worked hard for the Imperial Organisation for Social Services, and he has inspired an embryonic co-operative movement in Persia.

He has paid numerous visits to Europe, to London in 1945 to study the organisation of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and to International Labour Conferences. An admirer of British achievements in social and labour spheres, and pro-British in so far as this does not conflict with his nationalism. Extremely hard-working, conscientious and apparently honest. Through his late father who

was in charge of the Shah's education, and his second wife who was a lady-in-waiting to Princess Ashraf. Nafisi has close contact with the Royal Family.

His first wife was drowned at Geneva in 1947. In 1948 he married the niece of Mustafa Adl (Mansur-us-Saltaneh).

Speaks fluent French and English.

104. Nafisi, Hasan (Musharraf-ud-Dauleh)

Third son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atebbu. Born in Tehran 1896. Educated in Persia and went to France in 1909, where he graduated from the Lycée Henri IV. Returned to Persia in 1914 and joined the Ministry of Finance. On the staff of that Ministry till 1921, when he was appointed Director of the Inspection Department of the Tehran Municipality. Left for France in 1922, where he obtained the degree of doctor of law from the University of Paris, and the diploma of the School of Political Science. Returned to the Ministry of Finance for two years in 1925. Assistant to the *procureur général* of the Court of Appeal in 1927, and in 1928 president of the Tribunal of Commerce. Joined the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as legal adviser in 1928. Visited London 1929. Set up private practice as an advocate in 1930; but remained the company's lawyer. Visited London again in 1933 and 1935.

Minister of Finance in Farughi's Cabinet 1941, and did good work in the difficult task of reconstructing the country's finances on a new basis. Resigned with that Cabinet early in 1942. Persian Government representative to International Bank in 1946. Appointed Financial Adviser to the Prime Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, autumn 1947, and charged with preparation of preliminary report on Seven-Year Plan. Within one month produced report which was basis of subsequent legislation. Post as Financial Adviser abolished January 1948, but he remained chairman of Provisional Planning Authority until the end of the year, when he resigned after disagreeing with Sa'ed's Cabinet over the staffing of the Planning Authority. Was appointed member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949, and Managing Director of the Plan August 1949-July 1950. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949. July 1950, went to Europe, returned in November 1953 for a visit and again in March 1955.

Married the daughter of Amin-ud-Dauleh in 1931. Speaks English and French. A very sensible and capable man, with a sound knowledge of local and French law.

105. Nafisi, Sā'id

Second son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atebbu. Born in Tehran 1893. Educated in Persia and later in France. Returned to Persia in 1911, and was employed in the Ministry of the Interior. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1916, where he held different posts till 1927. Since then has been professor of the Persian language and literature in various schools. Has also done a good deal of journalism for the *Ettela'at*, the *Journal de Téhéran* and other newspapers. Was also active in promoting the first Persian cinema film. Has a great reputation as a prose writer. Author of a life of the poet Rudaki, and of a French-Persian dictionary. Published some violently anti-British articles in the local press when the D'Arcy Concession was cancelled. Has a certain knowledge of the Pahlavi language. A member of the Iranian Academy (Farhangestan).

A scholar of sorts and an active propagandist of pro-Russian views. Visited Moscow in autumn of 1945. In the latter part of 1949 and early 1950

was in India in connexion with the "Peace through Education" movement. Prominent in the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society. In 1955 was on the Preparatory Committee for the Warsaw Youth Festival.

Generally regarded as untruthful and avoided by many of his fellow-countrymen. Outwardly friendly.

106. Naisāri, 'Abbas Quli

Born c. 1910, son of Amir Heshmat Naisari, a well-known Azarbaijani figure. Graduate of Birmingham University. Employed many years in the Bank Melli, but his progress was hindered as he did not get on with the governor, Abul Hasan Ebtehaj. In August 1950, after the latter left the bank, Naisari became deputy governor until May 1953, when he went to New York as the Bank Melli's representative. November 1953, appointed manager of the Agricultural Bank.

He is solid and outspoken. Until recently regarded as honest, but there have since been suggestions of backsliding. He is openly pro-British and co-operative (embarrassingly so) at all times. He plays bridge, tennis and squash. He speaks English and Turkish fluently.

107. Najm, Abul-Qāsem (Najm-ul-Mulk)

Born in Tehran 1893. Son of the late Najm-ul-Mulk, a noted astronomer.

Educated at the School for Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1911. Chief accountant at the Ministry 1920-24, and again from 1926-28. Transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and appointed Director-General there in 1930. Under-Secretary to that Ministry in 1933. In November of that year appointed minister to Germany. Minister in Tokyo early 1940; recalled on rupture of relations 1942. Ambassador at Kabul 1943-45.

Minister in the short-lived Hakimi Government in the summer of 1945 but had not left Kabul when that Government fell. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet of November 1945. He did his best to deal with the Azarbaijan crisis but the difficulties were too great for him.

Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948. Member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Elected from Tehran October 1949 and resigned from Seven-Year Plan on opening of Parliament February 1950. Mentioned as possible Prime Minister March 1950 but Majles opposition was too strong. Member of Mixed Oil Commission May 1951-June 1952. Appointed Governor-General of Khuzistan by Alā Government, June 1955.

Reputation for honesty but a very negative person. Still connected with Hakim-ul-Mulk and Tagizadeh.

108. Nakha'i, Muhammad

Born about 1902. Educated in Persia; speaks French.

Secretary of the Persian Legation in Brussels from 1928 for some years, and then remained in Belgium teaching Persian. Also studied law, and eventually returned to Persia to join the National Bank as head of its legal department. Later transferred to the Ministry of Finance as private secretary to the Minister. 1941 became president of the Exchange Commission. At the end of 1943 private secretary to the Prime Minister (Suhaili).

In autumn 1943 helped to organise Government Employees' and Tenants' Association. President of Association of Iranian graduates of Belgian Universities.

Minister of Commerce in Sa'ed's reconstituted Cabinet of August 1944. Minister of Agriculture in Sadr's Government in 1945. Minister without Portfolio November 1949 and then Minister of Agriculture January 1950 and of Labour February 1950 under Sa'ed. Continued in this last office under Mansur April 1950 and Razmara June-August 1950, when he was appointed managing director of the Seven-Year Plan, in which capacity he was not very successful. Replaced May 1951, since when he has been mostly in Europe in business.

Capable, intelligent and well-disposed towards us. Brother of Dr. Husain Quds. Brother-in-law of Najm. Married a Belgian while in Brussels for medical treatment 1949-50.

109. Namāzi, Hāj Muhammad

Born c. 1895 in Shiraz. His father, Haj Muhammad Hasan, had a lucrative business with China in which opium is believed to have played an important part.

Represented his father in India and after the latter's death in 1932 set up on his own in India and Hong Kong (where he still owns a house). Later returned to Persia for a few years until 1942, when he went to the United States to do business. 1946-51 held the post of honorary commercial attaché to the Persian Embassy in Washington, which he is said to have used to avoid United States income tax. Wrote fairly realistic letters to Musaddeq about the oil dispute, which were published and which the latter did not like.

Returned to Persia December 1953 and played a part in the 1954 oil negotiations. Appointed Minister without Portfolio November 1954 by Zahedi and continued in this post under 'Alā, April 1955. He provided directly, and later through the Iran Foundation, a trust which he set up, the finance for a piped water supply and a modern hospital in Shiraz. A close friend of Husain 'Alā, to whom he is related by marriage and who has taken part in some of his commercial transactions.

Quite a good reputation, but he is above all a clever businessman, some of whose deals have not been above suspicion. Shrewd and sensible, he has not hit the headlines as a Minister but has done useful work in economic affairs.

A bachelor until 1950, when he married the daughter of Ata'-ul-Mulk Dehesh of Isfahan, who had nursed him in an American hospital.

110. Nāser, 'Alī Asghar

Born c. 1903. Manager of Bank Melli bazaar branch for many years until August 1950, when he was appointed vice-governor of the bank, on the recommendation of Abul Hasan Ebtehaj, to act as mentor to the new governor. He went to London with the latter soon afterwards for discussions with the Treasury and Bank of England and created a very favourable impression. Acting governor of the bank, September 1951-August 1952. Continued as vice-governor until November 1952, when he went to the United States as Persian representative on the International Monetary Fund. Returned August 1953 and appointed governor of the Bank Melli, September 1953.

He is essentially a banker and avoids politics as much as he can, does his best to follow sound, if conservative, banking principles and to protect the position of the Bank Melli. He resists Government pressure well for a Persian, but is apt to give way in the end. He is honest, frank, friendly and has a pleasant but not a strong personality, and as a consequence policy at the bank is more often decided by his juniors than by himself.

He speaks English fairly well and French fluently. He plays an excellent game of bridge.

111. Nasr, Taqi

Born c. 1909.

Was chief of the economic section of Ministry of Finance and later head of the Agricultural Bank. In 1941 went to United States as Ministry of Finance delegate on a permanent Persian trade and finance mission in Washington. Was deputy Persian representative first on the International Monetary Fund and later at the International Bank. Later worked in the United States with a Persian-American trading group. Since 1941 he has spent little time in Persia. Appointed executive director of Seven-Year Plan May 1949. Resigned August 1949 and went to United States. Returned to become Minister of National Economy under Sa'ed January-March 1950. Minister of Finance under Razmara June 1950; dropped October 1950. Now works for the International Bank in the United States.

He is a close friend of Prince Abdur Reza whom he assisted in his studies in the United States. Pro-American. He is keen, intelligent and adaptable, but showed deplorable lack of courage and staying power in deserting from the Razmara Government while abroad on an official mission for it. Since this episode he has not, apart from a short visit in November 1953, returned to Persia.

112. Navāb, Saffullāh

Born about 1893.

Educated in France.

Formerly Director-General of Census and Civil Registration Department, he became a member of the Economic Advisory Committee April 1945. Governor-General of Mazandaran in September 1945 and again in February 1949. In between these two appointments he returned to the Census and Civil Registration Department. Recalled from Mazandaran August 1949. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Governor-General of Mazandaran again April-September 1950. Director-General of Census Department again December 1950 until June, when he was replaced, apparently because he did not get on with the department's American adviser. Supported Musaddeq.

Speaks fluent French. Fanatic Muslim. Honest, but neither capable nor firm.

113. Nikpay, E'zāz ('Azizullāh)

Born in 1896. Educated by the Church Missionary Society at Isfahan and at the American College in Tehran. Speaks English and French. Director of a large and important mill in Isfahan. Governor of Kermanshah in 1940-41. Represented employers at International Labour Conference in Paris, October 1945. Governor-General of Kermanshah, May 1946, when he set himself almost unreservedly the task of promoting Government interests in face of increasing Tudeh displeasure. Until the time of his recall to Tehran, he resolutely pursued his policy of strengthening Right-wing opposition to the Tudeh, and where unsurmountable opposition was not encountered he directed local affairs with exemplary efficiency. Political Under-Secretary and Assistant to the Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in July 1946; granted ministerial rank September 1946; Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in October 1946. Resigned December 1946 to become a candidate for Isfahan in the elections for the 15th Majles; was elected and thereafter reappointed Minister. Dropped from the Cabinet in June 1947. Since then has lived mostly in Isfahan, where he also had interests in the Kuhrang tunnel and the turbine power-station.

A zealous administrator and apparently pro-British but not very reliable. Intelligent and not without charm. An intriguer and dishonest, but thrifty and capable.

Appears to be relatively enlightened on matters regarding relations of employer and employee. A supporter of Qavam-us-Saltaneh.

114. Nikpur, Abdul Husain

Born c. 1896. A rich Tehran business-man who first made his way when Taimurtash was Minister of Court. Amongst many other things he owns most of the shares in the Tehran glass factory. Although not an importer has been president of the Tehran Chamber of Commerce since the early 1930s and has considerable influence in the bazaar. He was Deputy for Tehran in the 13th and 15th Majles and was elected Senator for Tehran in October 1949. In opposition to Mussadeq from the summer of 1951. Elected Senator for Tehran March 1954. A strong supporter of freedom of trade and of private as against State enterprise.

A crafty man who prefers to work for his political aims by indirect means. Dishonest and untrustworthy with an eye always to the main chance.

115. Nurzād, Ghulām Rezā

Born in Tehran about 1880. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1905 and held different posts in various consulates in Russia. First secretary of the Embassy at Moscow in 1922. Counsellor there in 1924, and later *Chargé d'Affaires*. Chief of a section at the Ministry, 1929. Consul-General at Delhi, 1933. Head of the Consular Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 1938. Consul-General at Istanbul, May 1941. Recalled July 1943 and appointed Head of the International Relations Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 1943. Transferred to the Court, 1944. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, 1944. Is now Chief of the Imperial Court but primarily in the service of the Queen Mother.

Speaks French and Russian, as well as a certain amount of English. A rather long-winded person, but quite harmless.

116. Qanātibādī, Sayyed Shams-ud-din

Born c. 1912, son of a minor *mulla* of Qanatabad, a district of Tehran. Educated in Tehran in religious schools.

He worked closely with his brother-in-law, Sayyed Abul-Qasem Kashani (*q.v.*), and was banished to Kermanshah for eight months after the latter was deported in 1949. Joined the National Front on its foundation in 1950 and as a reward was returned to the 17th Majles from Shahrud in the Mussadeq-rigged elections of 1952. Founded an ephemeral pro-Kashani Party in 1951, which was supported by Dr. Baqā'i. Like Kashani, broke with Mussadeq in early 1953 and made up to General Zahedi, thus assuring his re-election to the 18th Majles from Shahrud in March 1954. Then opposed Zahedi and was one of the five Deputies to vote against the 1954 oil agreement, but afterwards returned to the Zahedi fold for financial reasons. Strong opponent of the 1955 Alā Government.

Although politically opportunistic and venal he has a reputation for loyalty to his personal friends and can generally be expected to take a broadly "nationalist opposition" line. Intelligent, clever and an effective orator with a sense of humour and a sense of occasion. Not without courage, and is influential inside the Majles and outside, particularly amongst the lower classes and the half-educated youth.

117. Qaraguzlu, Husain Ali

Younger son of the late Naser-ul-Mulk, Regent of Persia. Born in 1900. Educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. Married the daughter of Taimurtash in 1931; and divorced her

in 1935. An attaché at the Legation in London 1931. In the same capacity at Paris 1932. Returned to Tehran at the end of that year, and then employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at first in the Treaty Department, and from the end of 1936 in the Protocol Department. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior at the end of 1937.

Resigned from Government service in 1938 and took to chicken farming. After the fall of Reza Shah was not employed in Government service until he became secretary to Dr. Millsbaugh at the end of 1942; and in May 1943 was employed at Court, his brother-in-law, Alā, being Minister of Court. Accompanied the Shah to the United States December 1949 and has since remained abroad.

Charming but ineffectual.
Speaks perfect English and French.

118. Qaraguzlu, Muhsen

Born c. 1900. Elder son of the late Naser-ul-Mulk. Brother of Husain Ali and of Fatemeh, wife of Husain Alā. Brought into the Court by his brother-in-law; Comptroller of the Household to Queen Suraya, 1951. Later Assistant Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Court and in 1954 Master of Ceremonies. Vaguely acting as Minister of Court when Alā became Prime Minister in April 1955.

An unimpressive person. Rather a busybody. Has a decorative and enterprising Egyptian wife who spends a lot of her time abroad.

Speaks French and English.

119. Qashqā'i, Khusrau

Born 1921. Youngest son of the late Esmā'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Was appointed Governor of Firuzabad in November 1943, but preferred making frequent trips to Tehran to living at his post. Made large sums of money by selling monopoly goods destined for the tribes at an enormous profit in the open market. Elected to 15th Majles from Firuzabad. Went to Europe in December 1947. Spent a long holiday in the United States (1948-49) where he picked up English in a very short time. Deputy for Firuzabad in 16th and 17th Majles. Member of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950, and was to all practical purposes a supporter of the National Front. Returned to the tribe not long before Mussadeq's fall in August 1953, and stayed there, threatening trouble for the Zahedi Government, until December 1954, when he followed Naser Khan abroad and, amongst other things, made propaganda for himself and the tribe in London.

The reprobate of the family, he has great personal bravery and recklessness. Considered a hothead by his elder brothers and not altogether trusted by them. Inherits his father's cruelty and sadism, and is credited with a number of reckless killings. Has personal charm, considerable powers of persuasion and a boundless capacity for making mischief. A spoilt child with a nasty nature.

Khusrau is intelligent but has an unfortunate propensity for intrigue and an unguarded tongue, which continually gets him into trouble. Changes what he considers to be allegiance whenever circumstances seem to demand it.

120. Qashqā'i, Malek Mansur

Born 1905. Second son of the late Esmā'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Studied at Brasenose College, Oxford. Of hawk-like appearance and attractive personality, he talks much but slowly and tends to repeat himself. Speaks good English and German, a little French and Turkish and Turki. Reported to be loved by the tribespeople where

Naser is feared, since he is very interested in agriculture and the general well-being of the tribespeople. Devoted to tribal pursuits of hunting and riding. Says that he will do his utmost to oppose any Government interference with the tribe and that he is prepared to fight the army. The least untrustworthy of the Qashqā'i khans, but politically works closely with his three brothers.

Returned to Persia late 1949 after undergoing medical treatment in Switzerland, where he again went for treatment for a time in 1951.

Has great influence amongst the Boir Ahmadi tribes with whom he spent many years of his youth. He is very popular among the whole Qashqā'i confederation. Married the daughter of Jahangir Khan (Qashquli Kuchek family) by whom he has a daughter.

121. Qashqā'i, Muhammad Husain

Born about 1907. Third son of the late Esmā'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Studied at Reading University, but left because of chronic asthma. Studied economics at Berlin University. Deputy in 14th, 15th and 17th Majles for Abadeh. Elected to Constituent Assembly from Firuzabad April 1949. Went abroad in 1949, returned in 1951, and in 1953 again went abroad.

A voluble speaker. Excitable and untrustworthy.

He is known as the "merchant" brother. Not very popular in the tribe—he married a rich Tehrani girl, another cause for tribal criticism.

122. Qashqā'i, Muhammad Nāser

Born 1904. The eldest son of the late Esmā'il Qashqā'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Elected to the 8th Majles as a member of the Qashqā'i. Ilkani and the most influential chieftain of his tribe for a short time during 1930. Deprived of parliamentary immunity and arrested for conspiracy in 1932.

Fled from Tehran during the general disorder in September 1941 and recovered his old position in Fars, where is now the accepted but not entirely undisputed leader of the Qashqā'i. Does not smoke or drink and is a model family man. Tall, broadly built, staring eyes, slight smallpox marks on face, of commanding presence. A fast and smooth talker and a good raconteur. Fond of town society and when living in civilised surroundings is very reasonable and amenable. When living with the tribes he seems to lose his balance (where matters outside the parochial affairs of the tribes are concerned) and to be easily misled. This instability probably results from his varied earlier experiences, including imprisonment in Tehran with his father, who died in captivity. Basically opposed to the Pahlavi dynasty.

Until the summer of 1945, when he eventually screwed up courage to come to Tehran, he seems to have been generally in fear of reimprisonment. His anxiety to consolidate his position leads him, at the prompting of others, to see in himself a future Governor-General of Fars, Prime Minister and even Shah of Persia.

Speaks a little English and understands much. He had two Germans with him in 1943 and made a landing-ground, intended for German aeroplanes, near Farrashband. He rebelled in 1943 and was attacked by troops under General Shabbakhti, but the operations were very half-hearted and soon fizzled out. In April 1944 he handed over the Germans who had taken refuge with him and undertook to co-operate with the Allies. Was a leader of a tribal revolt in Fars in summer of 1946 in which his brothers also took part. After some fighting the Qashqā'is came to an understanding with the Government and peace was restored. Elected to the 15th Majles but did not take his seat. Deputy for Shiraz in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949.

Successful in first stage Senate elections in Shiraz and Firuzabad autumn 1949 and appointed Senator for Fars February 1950. In 1951 was at some pains to show that he was not anti-British and to act as a mediator with Mussadeq over the oil dispute; but he was a member of the National Front and supported Mussadeq to the end. Late in 1952 went to the tribe until after Mussadeq's overthrow in August 1953, when he returned to Tehran. Spent most of his time in the capital until November 1954, when he went to Europe and the United States after reaching some sort of *modus vivendi* with the Zahedi Government. In 1954 claimed to repent his previous anti-British behaviour and asked us to be friends again.

Muhammad Naser Qashqā'i has made himself unpopular in the tribe by permitting the greed of his wife (Bibi Rudabeh) who wishes to seize all she can for Naser's children (three sons, Amanullah Khan (born c. 1922), Abdullah and Changiz, and several daughters).

Physically fit, a good leader of men. Not very intelligent and, like his brothers, not very trustworthy.

123. Qavam, Ebrāhīm (Qavam-ul-Mulk)

Born 1888. The son of Mirza Habibullah Khan Qavam-ul-Mulk, who was killed accidentally in May 1916. During the war of 1914-18 was very friendly to us, and carried on his father's traditional policy of opposition to the powerful Qashqā'i group of tribes. Having inherited vast properties in Fars from his father, as well as the titular headship of the "Arab" tribes of that province, he wielded immense authority in the south of Persia at the time of the *coup d'Etat* of 1921. Reza Khan (later Reza Shah) when Minister for War met Qavam at Isfahan in August 1923 and expressed a wish that he should reside at Tehran; he therefore became elected to the Majles as member for the Khamseh (Arab) tribes and thereafter resided a good deal in Tehran. In 1929, as a result of various questions of validity of title to property, Qavam was given crown lands in Nishapur, in the neighbourhood of Tehran and elsewhere in the centre of Persia, in exchange for his Fars properties. It is believed that he did well out of these transactions, and that he is one of the wealthiest landowners of Persia at present.

In the 9th Majles of 1933 he was a Deputy for Baluchistan. He had also accompanied Reza Shah on several of his journeys, and was generally supposed to enjoy His Majesty's full confidence. In November 1933, however, on the arrest of the Minister of War, Sardar As'ad, Qavam seems to have become the object of suspicion, and he was placed under arrest with As'ad.

Played his part in the "events of 1941," he and his family at one time taking *hast* in the British Legation at Gulhek; and when Reza Shah abdicated and went to Isfahan it was Qavam who was sent by the Government to obtain Reza's signature to documents handing over his properties and private fortune to the State and to his son respectively.

Visited India, 1941-42 and bought a house at Bangalore.

Sent back to Shiraz to help General Shabbakhti with his attack on the Qashqā'is in June 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars, September 1943, but could not agree with any of the military chiefs about tribal policy, and returned to Tehran November 1943. Deputy for Shiraz in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Elected Senator from Fars, April 1949. He returned to Fars for a time in 1952 in an unsuccessful attempt to re-establish his influence.

Qavam's name in the Fars of to-day still commands respect, although the Khamseh tribes no longer look to him as their feudal chief. The

general tendency among his own family, whose obedience but not conscience he commands, is to regard him with the utmost respect as the survivor of a day that has gone. He himself does not seem to be conscious of, or will not admit, this passage of time. Now rather timid. Has a pro-British label.

His son, Ali Muhammad, married Princess Ashraf Pahlavi in March 1937, but the marriage was dissolved. He subsequently married a girl of the Shaibani family, daughter of Muhaseb-ul-Mamalek. He had previously been an undergraduate at Bristol, where he did badly, and is now in business. The other son, Reza, married a daughter of General Muqaddam and is at present employed in the Ministry of Labour. One daughter is married to Asadullah 'Alam and the other to Dr. Abul Qasem Nafisi.

124. Qezelbash, 'Aziz

Born about 1900. A Kurd by birth, from Kermanshah. His father and mother were killed during the constitution riots (1905-10). Spent six or seven years in India working on the railway and then lived in Ahwaz, where he was friendly with His Majesty's Consul at Khortamshahr, for whom he acted as interpreter with the tribes and with whom he was under fire on several occasions. This Consul (Mr. Soane) later left him a legacy. Qezelbash has worked on the Iranian State Railway since soon after its inception and is now in the Inspection Department. Anti-Communist, he joined the Democrat Party and the E.S.K.I. trade union immediately on their inauguration in December 1946. Became second secretary of the trade union and attended the I.L.O. Conference, Geneva, in 1947, as a workers' representative. Led E.S.K.I.'s more militant anti-Communist activities, touring the railway system, identifying Tudeh members and insisting upon their removal from employment with the State Railway. In winter 1948, owing to personal differences with Khusrau Hedayat (the first secretary of E.S.K.I.), Qezelbash was dismissed from the E.S.K.I. After that he operated independently, using his personal influence among railway workers and in the bazaars to draw support away from E.S.K.I. to his own newly-formed "Central Council of the Federation of Workers, Peasants and Tradesmen of Iran." Eventually agreed to the setting up of a joint committee under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour to co-ordinate trade union activities of E.S.K.I., E.M.K.A. and his own Central Council. In February 1951 was elected to the General Council of the newly-formed Trades Union Congress and has since been its president. In 1955 unsuccessfully sought nomination as workers' delegate to International Labour Conference by "back-door" methods, thereby incurring displeasure of his T.U.C. colleagues.

Friendly. Seems to be genuinely interested in his trade union work, but more of a politician and a "fixer" than a practical trades-unionist.

Speaks Turki and Urdu.

125. Quds (Nakha'i), Husain

Born about 1892. Graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Has held various posts under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was secretary in London for five years. Private secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1934. Secretary and, for a time, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington, 1935, until relations were broken off. Secretary in London, March 1937. Consul, Izmir, 1939. Counsellor in London, early 1943. Returned to Persia in 1947. Appointed Head of Third Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1948. Director-General (Personnel) later 1948. Under-Secretary, September 1950. Ambassador in

Bagdad, April 1951 until November 1952, when he was removed by Husain Fatemi. Then in Europe, mostly the United Kingdom, until he returned to Persia after Musaddeq's overthrow. November 1953, re-appointed Ambassador in Bagdad.

Speaks good English and French. A quiet and level-headed official. Pleasant and well-liked by his fellow-countrymen and colleagues. Good reputation for honesty. Genuinely friendly towards the British. Has a wife who speaks fluent Cockney.

126. Rādmansh, Dr. Reza

Born about 1900. In 1938 he was arrested by Reza Shah for making Communist propaganda. Elected Deputy for Lahijan in the 14th Majles. A prominent member of the Tudeh Party from its foundation and was a dominating member of the Tudeh Party General Party Conference in 1944. Edited Tudeh paper *Muridun*. One of six editors invited by the Ministry of Information to visit the United Kingdom in the autumn of 1945, but did not accept. A genuine Communist who was at one time believed to be not best pleased with the complete subservience of the Tudeh Party to the Russians but unable to help himself. Rather naïve.

Believed to have taken refuge in Soviet Embassy after attempted assassination of Shah February 4, 1949. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949 for activities against the constitutional monarchy. In 1955 believed to be in Vienna.

Generally regarded as the most likely candidate for the Presidency of the "People's Republic" for which the Tudeh Party were planning in Musaddeq's time.

127. Rahnama, Zain-ul-'Abedin

Born about 1888, one of the sons of the late Shaikh-ul-'Araqain, a Persian subject and minor *mujtahid* of Kerbela.

Rahnama was educated in Iraq and came to Persia about 1910. He was a member of the Democratic Party and edited first the newspaper *Rahnama* and subsequently the semi-official paper *Iran*. He was elected a Deputy to the 5th and 6th terms of the Majles. Was sent to Europe in 1923 on a mission to publicise Persia, and stayed most of the time in Paris. Was appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Public Works at the end of 1926 and Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior in April 1927. In June 1927 he fell from favour and confined himself to journalism, but accompanied the Shah on his journey to Khuzistan in October 1928 as press representative.

With the object of making headway in politics, he discarded his turban and gave up his title of shakh. This brought him three different under-secretaryships in succession.

Went to Europe in 1933 to purchase printing machinery. In the summer of 1935 was exiled and took up his residence in Beirut; the Shah was said to have suspected him of plotting against the régime.

Returned to Persia after the fall of Reza Shah in 1941, and resumed his editorship of the newspaper *Iran*, which is now run by one of his sons. On a mission to the 'ulama of Iraq in 1942, and brought back certain messages addressed to the young Shah. Plunged into political intrigue in 1942 and after being disappointed at not being accepted by the Iraq Government as Minister became a sort of secretary and spy in Suhaili's Administration in 1943, but soon resigned. Minister in Paris, 1944. Appointed Minister in Beirut, February 1947. First Minister to Amman, July 1949. Returned to Tehran on conclusion of duty, October 1949.

Clever and dishonest. Politically very ambitious and opportunist. Apparently a supporter of General Arfa.

Speaks French, English and Arabic.

128. Ra'is, Muhsen

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Persia and France. The eldest son of the late Zahir-ul-Mulk. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919. Sent to Switzerland as secretary of the Persian Delegation to the League of Nations. Returned to Persia in 1924, and served in the Ministry till he was sent to Paris as counsellor in 1930. Head of the Treaty Section of the Ministry in 1933. Minister at Berlin and The Hague 1935. Political Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs September 1937. Minister at Bucharest for Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia December 1938.

Transferred to Vichy in 1941, and returned in July 1942 to Tehran. Minister in Bagdad July 1943. Ambassador to London June 1947. Returned to Tehran to become Minister for Foreign Affairs under Razmara, August 1950. Held post until assassination of Razmara, March 1951. October 1953, appointed Ambassador to Paris.

A very agreeable man, but with little force of character. Speaks good French. Married one of the many daughters of Farman Farma in 1935.

129. Rashidiān, Asadullah (and brothers)

Born c. 1919. He and his two brothers, Qudratullah and Saifullah, are sons of Habibullah Rashidi, an Azarbaijani of modest origin and means who, because of his liaison work for the British Legation in Reza Shah's reign, was imprisoned in 1932 for ten years. He was again imprisoned for a few months by Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1946.

The brothers started as small retail merchants but went quickly from strength to strength. They form an effective team, a rare phenomenon in Persia even amongst close relatives. Broadly speaking, Asadullah, although not the eldest, provides the directing brains. Saifullah is responsible for much of the liaison work, and Qudratullah has more routine business attributes. They are very energetic and, contact-men by nature, they have a wide and ill-assorted range of connexions of all degrees of respectability. They are close with the Shah, Princess Ashraf, Suhaili and Sayyed Zia-ud-Din Tabataba'i. They are enthusiastic supporters of Sayyed Zia and are strongly pro-British. Although there seems to be no doubt of their loyalty in either of these cases, they undoubtedly have an eye to the main chance in their business dealings. They trade almost exclusively with British firms for whom they have secured very valuable business. They have now established themselves amongst the leading intermediaries in Tehran with all the notoriety that this implies.

The brothers have been active partisans of Sayyed Zia from the time of the latter's return to Persia; they participated in the Qashqa'i revolt of 1946 against Qavam-us-Saltaneh; were imprisoned for a short time in 1953 by Musaddeq; and played a part in the events of August 1953 leading to Musaddeq's downfall and the Shah's return.

The characteristics mentioned above combined with their indiscretion make them a distinct embarrassment in political matters. They are too inclined to present themselves as British "spokesmen," when necessary for their own ends.

130. Rustā, Reza

Born about 1900. Imprisoned by Reza Shah for espionage—map stealing from the military office at Kerman. In 1944 was in close touch with the Soviet

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Trade Delegation and was the channel through which Soviet help, in the form of cash, paper or transport facilities, reached the Tudeh Party. In the same year became a member of the Tudeh Inspection Committee and was strongly opposed to the moderate policy then pursued by the Tudeh Central Committee. Appointed secretary of the Central United Council of the Persian Federation of Trade Unions (Tudeh) and, following Louis Saillant's visit to Persia in 1946, was officially recognised by the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of Persian workers.

In December 1946 complained to W.F.T.U. and British Trades Union Congress of oppression of Persian workers, arrests and victimisation. He appealed for a W.F.T.U. delegation to visit the country to investigate. On arrival of this delegation in February 1947 Rusta was closely associated with the President, El Aris, and the Russian member, Borisov. His reputation with the Persian workers was strengthened by this delegation. Arrested April 1947 on charges of high treason in connexion with the Azarbaijan secessionist movement. Released on bail of 1 million rials in November 1947, allegedly through intervention of the then Prime Minister Qavam. After his release from prison he avoided the public eye, but worked energetically and quietly consolidating the Tudeh trade union movement and organising a purge of waverers. Is believed to have left for Moscow shortly before the attempted assassination of the Shah and was sentenced to death *in absentia* with other Tudeh leaders in May 1949. Since then believed to have spent a lot of his time at the W.F.T.U. headquarters in Vienna.

131. Sadiq, Dr. 'Isā (Sadiq-u-A'lam)

Born about 1892. Educated partly in England (where he was for a time secretary to Professor E. G. Browne) and partly in America, where he took a doctor's degree. Began his career in a very lowly station in the Ministry of Education. Rose to be Director of Education in Gilan. Attended an international congress on education in England about 1929, where he lectured on modern educational methods in Persia. Principal of the Teachers' College (*École normale*) 1932.

Minister of Public Instruction in Furughi's Cabinet September 1941. On the resignation of that Cabinet in 1942 became dean of the University of Tehran. Again Minister of Education in Suhaili's reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Education in Bayat's Government of November 1944. As chairman of Tehran Telephone Company went to the United Kingdom to buy equipment for the Company in 1947. Minister of Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh June-December 1947. Deputy for Tehran in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Represented Persia at the "Peace through Education" conference at Calcutta September 1949. Elected Senator from Tehran October 1949 and again in March 1954. Has been a professor of Persian literature at Tehran University for many years. November 1954-January 1955 visited the United States under sponsorship of United States Government.

An intelligent and go-ahead man speaking English and French. Has a good reputation as a scholar but politically is neither very important nor very active. Well disposed towards Anglo-Saxon methods of education. The author of several works on education.

132. Sadr, Sayyed Muhsen (Sadr-ul-Ashraf)

Born about 1873. An almost unknown person in Tehran politics until appointed Minister of Justice in Furughi's Cabinet of 7th September, 1933. Spent the whole of his previous service in various judicial posts under the Ministry of Justice. Has been president of the Court of Cassation. Was responsible

for some of the new sections of the Civil Code. Resigned September 1936.

Minister of Justice in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1943. Said to have been one of the pro-German *Kabud* Party in 1942. Became Prime Minister on June 6, 1945. Resigned October 1945. During his period of office he was bitterly attacked by all Left-wing elements and accused of being a reactionary. Did his best to resist Soviet encroachment on Northern Persia, but the pressure was too strong and he was replaced by Hakimi who was less unpopular with the Russians.

In charge of pilgrim train to Mecca on resumption of pilgrimage in autumn 1948. Governor-General, Khurasan, 1949-51. Appointed Senator for Khurasan, March 1954.

Respected as a learned man. Rich and ambitious. Old school in his politics and his ways.

133. Sā'ed (Marāgheh), Muhammad (Sā'ed-ul-Vezāreh)

Born about 1885. Educated in the Caucasus. Served in various capacities in the Persian consular posts at Baku, Tiflis and Batum. Acting Consul-General at Baku in 1927. Head of the Russian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1933. Appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* at Moscow in February 1934. Minister at Rome, June 1936. Accredited also to Hungary, 1938. Ambassador at Moscow, April 1938.

Recalled from Moscow to be Minister for Foreign Affairs in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet, August 1942. Held the post in Cabinet of Suhaili, February 1943.

Appointed Prime Minister in March 1944. Resigned November 1944. After Kavtaradze's arrival to discuss a Soviet oil concession he was persistently opposed by the Tudeh and the Russians and was thus able to do little during his tenure of office. His Government's rejection in October 1944 of the demand for an oil concession brought about a crisis which resulted in Sa'ed's resignation.

Elected to 15th Majles for Reza'iyyeh. Member of Regency Council during Shah's visit to the United Kingdom, July 1948, and again during his visit to the United States, November-December 1949. Became Prime Minister again November 1948. Resigned March 1950. Nominated Senator for Reza'iyyeh, April 1950. Ambassador to Turkey, June 1950-51. Elected Senator for Reza'iyyeh, March 1954. Leader of the Persian parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom July 1955.

An agreeable person, whose Russian is better than his Persian. Speaks good French. More intelligent than he appears. Always willing to help. Good reputation for honesty. Appears to have no delusions about Russia. As Prime Minister from November 1948-March 1950 he showed himself as well-intentioned rather than effective and is now no longer in the limelight. He has a handsome Latvian wife and a daughter married to John Wallis, the British journalist.

134. Sajjādi, Dr. Muhammad

Born in 1899 in Tehran. Son of a Tehran Mullah. Employed in the Ministry of Justice by the late Davar and later transferred to the Customs as Acting Director-General, 1934. Then employed in the Tobacco Monopoly until 1937, when he became Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Communications in November 1938.

Minister of Roads in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1941 and then head of the Tehran Municipality in 1942. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad by the Allied security authorities, September 1943. Released at end of war.

Director of the Exchange Control Department in the Ministry of Finance in Hakimi's Government of November 1945. Resigned November 1945.

Minister of National Economy under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, September-December 1947. Again under Hakimi, December 1947-June 1948. Minister of Roads under Sa'ed, November 1948, but changed to Justice March 1949. Lost office with Sa'ed March 1950, and became Head of the Civil Service Purge Commission, in which job his own reputation did not always inspire confidence in the Commission's recommendations. Managing Director of Seven-Year Plan, July-August 1950. Governor-General, Isfahan, April-June 1951. Governor-General of Azarbaijan October 1951-August 1952. Then Head of Military Tribunal until Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953. Appointed Senator for Tehran March 1954.

Spent several years in France and speaks French. A talkative and clever man. Ambitious and has not a good reputation for honesty. Not very reliable, if only because of his ability in trimming his sails to most winds. Married his brother's wife after she had been divorced as a result of a liaison with himself. A candidate for the premiership.

135. Sāleh, Allāhyār

Born about 1900. Graduate of the American College at Tehran. For some years employed as a secretary in the American Legation (now Embassy) at Tehran, where his brother, Pasha Khan Saleh, has for some years been the senior Persian employee on the political side. He then entered the Ministry of Justice, where he held various appointments. Was transferred to the Ministry of Finance and appointed director of the opium monopoly, and afterwards director of the tobacco monopoly. Head of the Customs for a short time. Then Accountant-General.

Sent to Washington on an economic mission, 1941. Returned in the autumn of 1942 to be Minister of Finance in the hope that he would work well with the American adviser, Dr. Millspaugh, but he proved a disappointment, quarrelled with Dr. Millspaugh, and was allowed to resign by Suhaili in March 1943.

Sent on a commercial mission to India, September 1943. Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco and spent some time in London on his way back to Persia. Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet, November 1945 to January 1946, when he dismissed Ghulam Husain Ebtehaj, the pro-Sayyed Zia Mayor of Tehran, and replaced him by Nariman, as being more acceptable to the Russians.

In Hakimi's Cabinet he was regarded as the leader of the appeasement group. Minister of Justice, August 1946; resigned October 1946. Successful in first stage Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Unsuccessful in 16th Majles elections in Tehran but elected from Kashan April 1950. Member of the Majles Oil Commission, June 1950, and chairman of the Mixed Oil Commission, May 1951. A member of the National Front. Minister of Interior, February 1952.

Resigned from Ministry of the Interior, March 1952, because he would not carry out certain acts of interference in the elections called for by other members of the Government. He thus confirmed the impression that, although often wrong-headed, he is a man of some integrity. Elected to 17th Majles for Kashan, but in October 1952 went to Washington as Ambassador. Resigned after Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953. Returned to Persia, April 1954, and, although he renewed contact with his old National Front colleagues, lay low.

An intelligent, honest and able but embittered man. Left-wing views. Speaks French and English.

136. Sāleh, Dr. Jahānshāh

Born 1904, brother of Allāhyār Saleh. Educated at the American College, Tehran, and in America, where he qualified as a doctor in 1933. After post-graduate work in America he returned to Persia and obtained the headship of various hospitals. He was for some years Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Tehran University, where he holds the professorship of anatomy and gynaecology; and is also Head of the Imperial Social Services Organisation. Served in the Finance Department before taking up medicine. Minister of Health under Razmara, June 1950-March 1951. Appointed Minister of Health under Zahedi, August 1953 and again under Alā in April 1955.

Not a very impressive Minister. Well-off and has an eye to the main chance. Untrustworthy and disliked in many Tehran medical circles for promising much and doing little. Completely Persian under a thick American veneer. Married to an American. Speaks English and French.

137. Sayyāh, Hamid

Born in Isfahan 1886. Educated at Moscow. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1916. For some time a judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry. Commercial secretary at Moscow, 1922-26. A director of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Board, 1927-31. Chief of the Russian Section at the Ministry in 1932. In charge of the Eastern Department, 1933. Consul-General at Beirut, March 1934. Minister at Warsaw, June 1936.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1941, and was most helpful to us. Again Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942 until January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs again, December 1943. Minister of Communications in Sa'ed's Cabinet, March-August 1944. Accompanied Qavam to Moscow in February 1946. Appointed Minister to Moscow, March 1946. Returned October 1946 and became Minister of Commerce and Industry until June 1947. Recalled April 1949 and appointed Minister of Roads under Sa'ed, May 1949. Dropped, January 1950. Leader of the Persian side in the negotiations with the Soviets which led to the agreement on financial and frontier questions of December 1954.

Speaks French and Russian. An agreeable but not a brilliant personality. He knows too much about Russian methods to incline towards bolshevism, but he maintains fairly close contact with the Soviet Ambassador and his ambition is to become Ambassador to Moscow again. A good bridge player.

138. Sayyāh, Kāzem

Born about 1892 of a family of Turkish descent, sometimes calling themselves Sayyah-Sepanlu, and not related to Hamid Sayyah. Served in the Turkish army in the 1914-18 war, and taken prisoner by the British troops 1917. Then employed in the Caucasus, where he had various adventures in 1920 and 1921. A strong supporter of Sayyed Zia in the latter's *coup d'Etat* of 1921, and when the Sayyed fell he fled with him to Switzerland. Returned to Persia about 1923 and was imprisoned by Reza Shah for some time. Then employed under the Ministry of Industry in supervising the factories at Isfahan. Was also in charge of the Fine Arts Department at that place, 1940 to 1942. Fell under suspicion as pro-German owing to his relations with the factory engineers, most of whom were Germans. Transferred to Tehran, 1942, and put in charge of the glycerine factory. In 1943 employed by the Americans in the price stabilisation section of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed Head of the

Organisation Section of the Ministry of Interior, 1944. As he was well known as a strong supporter of Sayyed Zia this appointment raised an outcry by all Left-wing elements and by those who favoured a policy of appeasement towards the Russians. Appointed a director of the Tehran Electricity Company, 1945. Director-General in Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, April 1947. 1949, employed in the Factories and Industries Department of the Seven-Year Plan. Head of the Cotton Company of the Seven-Year Plan, February 1951. Governor-General of Mazandaran, April 1951. Dismissed by Musaddeq in August 1951. September 1953, attached to the Seven-Year Plan Organisation and later appointed to the High Council of the Organisation.

A man of the world, capable of good work, and claims to be well-disposed towards us. Married to a Greek.

139. Sepābbadi, Amāshirvān

Born in Tehran about 1890. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1907 and worked there till 1910. Vice-consul at Vladikavkaz in 1910, and thereafter served at different posts in the Caucasus till 1918. Then chief of a section at the Ministry; in charge of the Protocol Department in 1926. Minister in Switzerland 1929-33. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs July 1933. At the beginning of 1934 made minister at Rome, being accredited also to Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Ambassador at Moscow June 1936 until April 1938. Minister, Paris, July 1938 and also accredited to Spain in June 1939.

Ambassador to Turkey 1940. Minister for Foreign Affairs June-October 1945. Minister for Justice in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Ambassador in Paris August 1946. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by Qavam in June 1947, but did not take up his post. Recalled to Persia February 1948. Nominated Senator for Tehran and also appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Court February 1950. Accompanied the Shah to Pakistan March 1950. Resigned his post as Master of Ceremonies after the marriage of the Shah, February 1951. October 1953, appointed Ambassador to Egypt.

A man of no particular family, he made his way to the top while still young. Speaks French and Russian. Is quite well supplied with brains, but is often too lazy to use them. Rather timorous. On friendly terms with Shah. Hates Russians.

140. Sepehr, Ahmad 'Ali (Muvarekh-ud-Dauleh)

Born c. 1890. Educated in Tehran. In 1911 joined the Customs Department. 1914-18 employed in the German Legation. Then in the Ministry of Finance. In June 1942 he was mixed up in a German plot involving Qavam-us-Saltaneh and others. Was Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the beginning of 1944. In February 1944 became Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry. He was removed from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the summer of 1944 and remained without an appointment until August 1945, when he was appointed head of the Caspian Fisheries, a post which brought him into close touch with the Russians. Closely associated with Qavam-us-Saltaneh and joined the Cabinet as Minister of Commerce and Industry in March 1946, but in July dismissed from Cabinet and banished to Kashan. Permitted to return to Tehran December 1946.

For a time remained in retreat but reappeared in social life after Qavam's fall in December 1947. In June 1948 tried to get himself put up as Prime Minister but only obtained the support of a few unimportant newspapers and was never considered a serious candidate. Successful in the first stage of

the Senate elections in Tehran in October 1949. Chairman of the Board of the Caspian Fisheries late 1950 until March 1952.

Has a bad name for intrigue and lying. Well-informed politically and active in cultivating the younger generation. A friend of General Arfa's.

141. Shāhbakhti, Muhammad, General (*Sepahbud*)

Born about 1882, the son of a peasant inhabiting the village of Eshtehard, near Tehran, but since been heard to describe himself as a native of Azarbaijan possibly to cover up his humble origin.

He enlisted in the Cossack Brigade about 1901, distinguished himself by bravery in the field, and received a commission. In 1914 he was a captain. He attached himself to Reza Khan, whose influence secured him promotion to the rank of colonel in 1919. After the *coup d'Etat* of 1921 appointed to command the Āhan regiment of infantry. In 1925 promoted brigadier and given command of an infantry brigade in Tehran. In 1926 sent to command the Western Division, but recalled in the spring of 1928 for corruption; appointed shortly afterwards to command the Persian troops in Kurdistan. In December 1928 sent to command the troops in Fars, but superseded by General Shaibani.

Appointed to command the troops in Azarbaijan in 1932. Promoted to the rank of major-general in March of that year. Transferred to Ahwaz as General Officer Commanding, January 1939.

Appointed Commander of the Western Forces October 1941, with the rank of general (*Sepahbud*). Controlled the Kermanshah area pretty thoroughly, ignoring completely the civil Governor, till he was transferred to Fars to quell the Qashqa'is in February 1943. He was not very successful in that campaign and after the defeat of the garrison at Semirum in July 1943 came to Tehran to report. Suspected of taking large bribes when at Kermanshah and again from the Qashqa'is.

Placed on the retired list, October 1943. Recalled to active list, 1947. Appointed Inspector of Troops in Azarbaijan, and early in 1949 Commander-in-Chief of Forces in Azarbaijan.

In April 1951 was sent to Ahwaz as Governor-General of Khuzistan and Commander of the Forces of the South in order to restore order after the riots in Abadan, but did not go to Abadan for two weeks. Recalled end May 1951, when he was appointed General Officer Commanding, Azarbaijan, staying most of the time in Tehran. February 1953, gaoled by Musaddeq and placed on retired list. September 1953-May 1954, Governor-General of Azarbaijan under Zahedi.

Though somewhat arrogant, he is a very charming old man and has a great reputation in Azarbaijan, where his activities and strength of character made it impossible for any strong Governor-General to co-exist with him. Dishonest and rich.

An almost entirely uneducated survival from the Cossack Brigade, resembling in appearance the more famous product of that corps, Reza Shah.

142. Shāhrukh, Bahram

Born c. 1911. One of the six sons of Arbab Jamshid Shāhrukh, formerly Zoroastrian Deputy in the Majles and murdered by order of Reza Shah in 1940. He has studied in Manchester and Germany and has visited England several times.

Married to a German, by whom he has three children. During the war he was in Berlin and constituted himself leader of the Persian colony there, displaying strong pro-German sympathies. For a considerable time he broadcast in Persian from Berlin radio, his talks being listened to eagerly in Persia on account of their eloquence and vitriolic

invective against the British. In the latter days of the war he saw which way the wind was blowing, left Germany for Turkey and completely abandoned his German friends. After returning to Germany for several months he decided to settle in Persia. Was agent for various German firms.

In addition to his commercial activities Shāhrukh has always taken a keen interest in politics, having managed to gain the confidence of many prominent politicians, and, on occasion at least, of the Shah. Appointed Director-General of Press and Propaganda by Sa'ed September 1949, and despite much opposition from the press and other circles held on to the post, in which he showed commendable energy and zeal until June 1950, when he was appointed a director of the Irrigation Board. Again Director-General of Press and Propaganda November 1950-January 1951. Shortly after Musaddeq came into power he was obliged to leave the country as a warrant was out for his arrest. He went to Germany whence he imprudently returned in December 1951, being arrested on a charge of malversation of official funds. Sentenced and remained in gaol until Musaddeq's overthrow in August 1953. Used by the Shah in an attempt to build up a private contact with this Embassy very soon after the resumption of relations but, when this was not successful, was dropped by the Shah and rusticated. Returned to Tehran in the spring of 1955.

He is clever, confident and his chequered career shows him to possess courage and an unlimited capacity for intrigue. In spite of his European upbringing he is very much a Persian at heart. Of unlimited vanity. His political ambitions are much hampered by his being a Zoroastrian, although he is not trusted by many of his fellow-Zoroastrians. Now claims to be strongly pro-British and pro-American. An irrespressible but well-informed opportunist.

Speaks excellent German, English and French.

143. Shams-e-Mulkārā, Asadullāh (Shāh-ud-Daulah), K.C.V.O.

A Qajar prince. Born about 1880. Educated in Persia. For many years employed in the Telegraph Department. Governor of Yazd in 1911. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, 1914-15. Minister of Public Works, 1915. Master of Ceremonies at the Court, 1922-25. Governor of Kermanshah, 1929. Recalled 1933 and Governor of Kurdistan, October 1934-April 1936.

Holds the dignity of K.C.V.O. received when in attendance on Ahmad Shah during his visit to London in 1919.

Governor-General of Fars early 1942, but was superseded in the following summer, without having accomplished much. Governor-General of Kermanshah late 1946-early 1948. Appointed Senator for Tabriz March 1954.

A rather pompous man, said to be a great intriguer; he is not averse to the society of foreigners, and probably regrets the good old days. Was a member of the Advisory Council of the Anglo-Persian Institute before the break in diplomatic relations.

Speaks English and French fluently.

144. Shā'yegan, Dr. Sayyed 'Ali

Born in Shiraz in 1904, son of Hajī Sayyed Hashem. Doctor of Law. Educated in Tehran and Paris. In 1940 appointed Professor of Civil Law, Judicial Counsellor and Barrister. Dean of the Faculty of Law, Tehran University. In May 1946 appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Education. In October 1946, Minister of Education under Qavam-us-Saltānch. June 1947 successful in first-stage Senate elections, Tehran. Deputy for Tehran in the 16th and 17th Majles. Member of the Mixed

Oil Commission. Member of delegation formed to negotiate with the A.I.O.C., June 1951. Member of delegation to The Hague, June 1951; accompanied Dr. Musaddeq to the United Nations Security Council in October 1951; was again a member of the delegation to The Hague in June 1952. Elected to the 17th Majles for Tehran. Resigned with Musaddeq's other supporters after the "referendum," July 1953. Arrested August 1953, after Musaddeq's overthrow. In spring 1954 allowed out on parole for two months. Tried October 1954 and finally sentenced to ten years' hard labour. Deprived of his professorship.

One of the most fervent supporters of the National Front, he seems to suffer from bad nerves: his unbalanced fanaticism is to some extent due to his state of health. He has views tending strongly to fellow-travelling. Although generally regarded as dishonest he has the reputation of being a good teacher and still commands considerable respect amongst many University students.

145. Siāsī, Dr. 'Ali Akbar

Born 1893. Educated in France 1911 and stayed in France till the outbreak of the 1914 war. Took a course in pedagogy. Employed as dragoman and Persian secretary at the French Legation from about 1917 to April 1941. At the same time he was instructor in psychology and law at the University of Tehran; later professor. Went to Europe 1927 and took a further course in France, obtaining a doctorate in philosophy. Married the daughter of the late Bayat, and so acquired wealth. One of the founders of the French-sponsored "Young Persian Club" in 1921.

Minister of Education August 1942. Resigned from Suhaili's Cabinet in August 1943. Minister without Portfolio in Bayat's Government 1944.

Member of Persian delegation to San Francisco Conference March 1945. Visited United Kingdom after the conference.

Invited by Soviet Government to visit Tashkent for the twentieth anniversary of the Science Academy there December 1945.

Minister of Education in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Resigned April 1948 after being attacked in the Majles for saying that the University should be free not only from political but also from religious control. Arrested after the attempted assassination of the Shah at the University February 4, 1949, but immediately released. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Sa'ed, January-February 1950. Leader of Persian delegations to various cultural conferences, including U.N.E.S.C.O. June 1951. Rector of Tehran University from early 1943 until early 1955. Remains dean of the faculty of literature.

An intelligent man with a perfect command of French. Always polite and agreeable to talk to, but a "trimmer." His attitude undoubtedly gave the Tudeh Party an excellent opportunity to infiltrate the University.

146. Suhaili, 'Ali

Born about 1890. Educated partly in Russia and talks Russian well, also French and a little English. His career has been in various Government administrations. In January 1931 was appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Roads and Communications under Kazemi. In September 1933 he was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Under-Secretary, when Kazemi was appointed Minister. Suhaili had also served as chief Persian representative on the board of the Caspian Fisheries

Directorate. Several times Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of his chief. Minister in London, March 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs, May 1938, but dismissed in July, owing to the late Shah's displeasure over a telegram concerning the Paris Exhibition. Governor-General of the VIIIth Usten (Kerman), February 1939. Ambassador, Kabul, October 1939.

Became Prime Minister, rather unexpectedly, in March 1942, after having been Minister for Foreign Affairs in Furughi's Cabinet from September 1941 (during which time he was the Persian signatory of the Tripartite Treaty of February 1942). His Cabinet fell in July 1942, partly owing to lack of support from the Court and the army. Again Prime Minister on the fall of Qavam-us-Saltānch in February 1943, again unexpectedly. Proved himself once more a hard worker, but carried little weight in the country and had to maintain himself by various "combinations" and political deals with Majles Deputies.

During 1944-45 he was frequently a strong candidate for the Premiership, but was suspected by many of being too well-disposed towards the Russians. Went to Egypt in the summer of 1945 and was made member of the Persian delegation to the United Nations in January 1946.

Was tried in February 1948 for illegal interference in the elections for the 14th Majles and on other political charges, but was acquitted. Minister without Portfolio in Hakimi's Cabinet, March 1948. Appointed Ambassador to Paris, June 1948. Also accredited as Minister at Lisbon, January 1950. Transferred as Ambassador to London, August 1950. Dismissed, December 1951, by Musaddeq. Remained in the United Kingdom and Europe until September 1953. Again Ambassador to London, April 1954.

Hard-working and approachable. Well-disposed towards us but an inveterate intriguer. A gambler and discreetly dishonest. Not held in much respect by his compatriots. Connected with Taqizadeh and Hakim-ul-Mulk.

His Caucasian wife (there is a Persian one from which he is separated) has to be seen to be believed. She enters into his intrigues as well as apparently running some of her own.

147. Sururi, Muhammad

Born about 1895. Educated at the Tehran School of Political Science. Served in various Government Departments. Has been judge in the Tehran courts, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice, Director of the Agricultural Bank, 1942, but removed from that post June 1943. Acting Minister of the Interior, January 1944. Minister of Interior in Sa'ed's Cabinet of August 1944 and again in Bayat's Cabinet in November 1944-June 1945. He did well, but incurred the displeasure of the Tudeh Party when he arrested the worst of the professional toughs of Tehran and imprisoned them in Bandar Abbas.

Minister of Justice under Hakimi, December 1947-June 1948. Elected Senator from Tehran, October 1949. Chairman of Administrative Purge Commission, July 1949, but resigned on grounds of ill-health, November 1949. Member of Mixed Oil Commission, May 1951. Musaddeq, after dissolving the Senate in August 1952, offered Sururi the Ministry of Interior. He declined but accepted post of Head of Supreme Court which he retained until Musaddeq fell in August 1953.

Business-like and said to be honest. Lacking in real initiative, but has a strong reputation for doing his duty firmly and without regard to any private considerations.

Speaks French.

148. Tabā, Dr. 'Abdul Hussin

Born in Tehran about 1911 of a Na'in family. Educated in medicine in England and qualified in medicine and surgery after eight years in Birmingham and at Guy's Hospital. Real name is Tabataba'i but not related to Sayyed Zia. Employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as a doctor, 1940-42, and since practising in Tehran. Elected to the 15th Majles for Na'in, which he also represented in the Constituent Assembly, April 1949, and in the 16th Majles. Later became Head of the Health Department of the State Railways and in November 1953 took up a job with the World Health Organisation in Geneva.

A go-ahead man who seems keen on his profession, but as a Deputy acquired a reputation for being highly irresponsible. Honest and well liked. Married the youngest daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh.

149. Tabātabā'i, Sayyed Muhammad Südeq

Second son of the late Sayyed Muhammad Tabataba'i who was a prominent figure in the Nationalist movement of 1906 to 1910. No relation of Sayyed Zia. Born in Tehran about 1880. Elected to the 3rd and 4th Majles. In close touch with pro-Germans during the war of 1914-18. Emigrated to Turkey in 1916. Returned in 1918 and co-operated with Sulaiman Mirza in forming the Socialist Party. During this phase he was in close touch with the Soviet Embassy. Ambassador to Turkey 1924-27.

Was more or less under arrest for about ten years in Tehran until the fall of Reza Shah 1941. Gradually entered political life after that and initiated and fostered the *Mellat* (Nation) Party.

Head of the Election Committee for Tehran 1943-44, and himself elected Deputy.

Elected President of the 14th Majles. An opium addict for thirty years, he frequently found it difficult to keep awake when he was presiding.

Unsuccessful candidate for Tehran in elections for 15th Majles, but elected from Tehran to the Constituent Assembly, of which he was elected President April 1949. Member of the Regency Council during Shah's journey to Europe July 1948. Chairman of the Electoral Supervising Committee for the first 16th Majles elections in February 1949, which were cancelled. In new elections was himself elected. March 1954, elected Senator for Tehran.

An incorrigible intriguer he stands close to the Shah to whom he has always offered bad advice. His "liberal" ideas are not to be taken seriously. He and his friends pride themselves on their patriotism and the pursuit of the middle way between Britain and the U.S.S.R. For some reason he is generally regarded as a "national" figure. Reputation for honesty and influential in the bazaar. In his dotage and in ill-health.

Speaks French.

150. Tabātabā'i, Sayyed Zia-ud-Din

Born about 1893. Son of the late Sayyed Ali Yazdi Tabataba'i. Edited the newspaper *R'ad* (Thunder) in Tehran in 1915-16. Played a considerable political rôle in 1917-18. Sent to Baku by Vusuq-ud-Dauleh in 1919 as Persian representative to Caucasian Azerbaijan. While in Baku he issued a long statement entitled "A New Epoch in the History of Persia," a spirited defence of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 which, although it had not been ratified by the Majles, he endeavoured to bring into force when he became Prime Minister. Returned to Tehran in May 1920. Carried out *coup d'Etat* with the help of Reza Khan and the Cossack Brigade in February 1921, and seized power. Appointed Prime Minister with full

powers by Ahmad Shah on March 1, 1921, and effected numerous arrests, particularly amongst the ruling classes. His reforms were too radical for the country and the time, and he fell from power in June, fleeing the country. He was in the tobacco business while exiled.

Took a prominent part in the Pan-Islamic Congress at Jerusalem in 1933.

In 1942, having by that time developed a very prosperous farm near Gaza in Palestine, he began to think of returning to Persia, and Muzaffar Firuz began with great energy and indiscretion to run a newspaper campaign in his favour in Tehran. He published a letter from the Sayyed in which the Russians were praised in fulsome language. His name came forward a good deal in the Tehran press during 1943, and quite a number of Deputies in the 13th Majles seem to have favoured his return. The Russians and the Shah, however, were steadfastly opposed to it, the former because they mistrusted Firuz's letter, and the latter through fear that the Sayyed might become a dictator. However, he returned to Tehran in September 1943, and was elected to the 14th Majles from Yazd. Caused annoyance by insisting on wearing a woollen hat of Caucasian style, and alienated some of his friends by an appearance of stubbornness and obstinacy.

Founded a political party which in the summer of 1945 was officially launched under the name of *Eradeh-e-Melli* (National Will). His followers claimed that the party numbered about 9,000 in Tehran at the end of 1945. Was the particular bugbear of the Tudeh and the Russians, who never tired of vilifying him as the arch-enemy of his country and the principal tool in Persia of imperialists and reactionaries. (Some of this propaganda has stuck.) During the near-panic which prevailed in Tehran in November-December 1945, as a result of the approach of the Azarbaijan Democrats towards Qazvin, many leading politicians and Deputies began seriously to consider that Sayyed Zia should be exiled from Persia as a sop to the Russians.

His continued opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh's pro-Soviet gambits in the beginning of 1946 resulted in his arrest and imprisonment, but this was changed to house arrest a year later and shortly afterwards he was released. Early in 1948 the Shah tried without success to enlist his support for his project of constitutional reform. Thereafter Court and Government circles evinced great hostility towards him and he was widely accused of disloyalty and even of pro-Soviet sympathies. There was, however, no concrete evidence to support these charges. On the other hand, Sayyed Zia was known to have criticised the Shah's "unconstitutional" behaviour. But he remained firmly opposed to communism and the Russians in general.

After the attempt on the Shah's life in February 1949 he made his peace with His Majesty and has seen him regularly since. As a result the number of his enemies has dwindled. Was elected in the first stage of the Senate elections in Tehran, October 1949, but resigned from the electoral college. Was considered an alternative choice to Razmeh for the premiership in June 1950. On the resignation of 'Alā, April 1951, the Shah agreed to his appointment but the Majles unexpectedly gave a "vote of inclination" to Musaddeq. Was one of the first to take up opposition to Musaddeq in summer of 1951 and for a time seemed a likely successor to him. But, in view of the Shah's discouraging attitude Sayyed Zia felt obliged to withdraw into semi-retirement on his farm north of Tehran, where he has kept himself very well informed through his many loyal friends in various walks of life.

Scrupulously honest, religious, widely read and travelled, of active habits and practical outlook. Sayyed Zia-ud-Din is an unusual Persian and an

impressive man. Patriotic, courageous and a genuine reformer. Originally a journalist by profession he has become a successful and progressive farmer. His main faults are obstinacy and impatience of criticism, which seem to have mellowed somewhat; and he has not always made a wise choice of collaborators. He speaks English, French, Arabic, Turkish and Turki.

Confident that he could make a good start at putting Persia on its feet, but neither a supplicant nor a candidate in the ordinary sense for the premiership. He is aware that the Shah would have to be in difficult straits before letting him be Prime Minister on the terms which the Sayyed would consider necessary.

151. Täheri, Dr. Hädi

Born at Yazd about 1888. Son of a mullah. Formerly a landowner and proprietor of various concerns at Yazd. A great rival of the Navvab family of Yazd. Elected to the Majles on various occasions. In the 13th Majles was considered one of the leading members. Served on the Committee of the Anglo-Iranian Relief Fund, 1943, and was helpful in providing local knowledge. Was largely responsible for the success of Sayyed Zia-ud-Din in the Yazd elections of 1943, thereby incurring the dislike and distrust of the Shah. Accused of various peculations at Yazd, but nothing was proved.

In the 14th Majles he was again one of the most influential Deputies. Bitterly anti-Soviet he worked hard to maintain the Majles majority against Soviet pressure.

Arrested November 1946 for political activities against Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released February 1947. Appointed Minister without Portfolio under Sa'ed November 1948. Resigned September 1949, to stand for the 16th Majles, to which he was elected from Yazd. Supported Musaddeq in 16th Majles in order to ensure his own re-election in 17th. In July 1953, after many other Deputies had resigned in support of Musaddeq's dissolution of the Majles following the so-called referendum, he also resigned. Did not stand for 18th Majles, but stood unsuccessfully for the Senate at Yazd in March 1954.

Though very slow in speech and manner he is extremely astute and has a profound knowledge of his colleagues and particularly of their weak points. Though patriotic he would not allow his patriotism to interfere unduly with his personal interests in Yazd. He has a congenital aversion to the obvious course and delights to achieve his objectives by devious means through the agency of others. Was and may to some extent still be regarded as a mouth-piece of the British Embassy, and tends to attribute to us ideas which we do not hold, in order to further his own ends. Has kept at a distance since the resumption of relations.

152. Täleqāni, Khalil: Muhandes (Engineer)

Born in Tehran, 1913, son of a Government official. At American schools in Tehran and Tabriz and later at the American College, Tehran. In 1933 won an A.I.O.C. scholarship to Birmingham University, where he graduated in civil engineering in 1937. Further engineering experience in the United Kingdom, including construction work on the Waterloo Bridge.

Early 1939 returned to Tehran and did his military service as an engineer. Then worked for various construction enterprises, including an American war-time organisation. In 1944-45 was for a few months a member of the board of the State Industrial Institute. Again engaged in private construction jobs until 1948, when he became technical director of the Irrigation Company of Gulpayegan, a State concern. December 1951 appointed Minister of

Agriculture by Musaddeq and again in July 1952 in Musaddeq's new Government. Resigned in March 1953.

In October 1953 given a senior post in the United States Point Four, and in February 1954 appointed by Zahedi managing director of the Karaj Dam Authority. October-December 1954 in Washington negotiating a United States Eximbank loan. Made a "special adviser" to Zahedi in early 1955. April 1955 appointed Minister of Agriculture under Alā retaining his Karaj post.

A good reputation for honesty, and a reformer. Capable and balanced, he also has strength of character. Patriotic with some tendency to nationalism. Well-liked. Although regarded by some as pro-American he makes a point of being on good terms with us as well.

A keen sportsman. Speaks very good English. Has an attractive Persian wife.

153. Taqizādeh, Sayyed Hasan

Born in Tabriz about 1880, the son of a small preacher. He was educated in his native town, where he showed great eagerness to acquire knowledge. In his early youth he was an ardent Nationalist, and was connected with the Nationalist movement in Persia from the beginning. He was elected to the 1st term of the Majles and was one of its most prominent members.

In the *coup d'Etat* of 1908 Taqizadeh took refuge in His Majesty's Legation and as a condition of his amnesty went to the United Kingdom. Returned late 1908 and played prominent part in 2nd Majles. Elected to 3rd and 4th Majles *in absentia*. He stayed in Europe and America during the whole period from 1914 to 1923 and was for years in Berlin, where he edited a paper called *Kaveh*. He negotiated the Perso-Soviet Commercial Treaty in Moscow in February 1921, and finally returned to Persia in 1924. Member of 5th and 6th Majles. Appointed Governor-General of Khorasan in January 1928; he was recalled in May and became Persian Minister in London until April 1930, when he returned to Persia and became Minister of Roads and Communications. In August 1930 he was appointed Minister of Finance in addition.

Taqizadeh fell from grace in September 1933, for reasons which are obscure. The Shah is said to have suspected him of intrigue with Mailes members in connexion with the purchase of gold. He was, however, soon re-employed as minister in Paris.

Recalled from Paris in August 1934, but obtained prolonged leave of absence and did not return to Persia. Appointed Persian representative at the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in September 1935. 1936 became lecturer in Persian at London University until appointed Minister in London by Faruqi 1941, and became Ambassador in 1944 until 1949. Headed Persian Delegation to the United Nations in London in January 1946 and ably presented the Persian case when the Security Council considered the Perso-Russian dispute about Azarbaijan.

Elected Deputy for Tabriz in 15th Majles. As an old friend he helped Hakimi when the latter became Prime Minister in December 1947.

In a speech in the Majles in January 1949 he said that he signed the 1933 A.I.O.C. Concession under emphatic orders from Reza Shah and against his better judgment. This brought into being a vociferous school of thought that the concession was therefore invalid and thereby provoked the demand for its revision.

Elected to the Constituent Assembly April 1949, but did not attend because of "illness." Elected Senator from Tehran October 1949 and President of the Senate on its inauguration in February 1950.

Re-elected President, April 1951 and April 1952. Attended 1954 Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge, June 1954, elected Senator for Tabriz. Absented himself from the vote on the 1954 oil agreement. April 1955 elected President of the Senate with many abstentions.

He is married to a German and talks German fluently. He speaks English and French reasonably well.

There are now few traces of the fire-eater of the early 1900's and Taqizadeh is now noted for his extreme caution and unwillingness to adopt and speak up for any definite policy. His political "group" *'Amiyun* includes Hakim-ul-Mulk and Dr. Taheri.

154. Tehrani, Sayyed Jalal-ud-Din

Born c. 1896. Higher education in Belgium followed by practise of astronomy. A famous astronomer and astrologer who first appeared on the political scene when he became Minister without Portfolio under Qavam-us-Saltaneh just before the latter's fall November-December, 1947. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Tehran October 1949. Minister without Portfolio under Sa'ed November 1949. Transferred to Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones January 1950 and retained under Mansur, April-June 1950. Appointed guardian of Meshed Shrine, June 1951. Governor-General of Khurasan, October 1951-February 1952. September 1953, appointed minister to Belgium.

Intelligent even if a little unbalanced. Close to the Shah. Reputation for honesty. Apparently a firm believer in the myth of British omnipotence and omniscience in Persian affairs. Belgian wife.

155. Vukili, 'Ali

Born in Tehran about 1894. A prosperous Tehran business man. He has held seats on Tehran Municipal Council and in Tehran Chamber of Commerce. He was Deputy for Tehran in the 10th and in the 15th Majles. Attended Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952. Elected Senator for Tehran in March 1954.

An active, resourceful and enterprising man with a finger in many pies. He is shrewd and tends to work behind the scenes. Most of his business is with United Kingdom manufacturers and he has supported British interests fairly well. Friendly, but not to be trusted too far. His reputation is not as bad as that of some other merchants, such as Nikpur. Close friend of General Zahedi's. Speaks good French and some English.

156. Vālistābār, Abul-Fath, K.B.E. (Heshmat-ud-Daulah)

Born about 1885. A member of the Tabataba'i family of Tabriz and a step-brother of Dr. Musaddeq's. A chamberlain of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. Private Secretary to Muhammad Ali Shah before he came to the throne, and continued in that post until 1909. An open enemy of the Nationalists. Governor of Resht in 1915. Minister of War 1916-17. Governor of Kerman 1918-19. His help to the British in 1914-18 war earned him a K.B.E. Minister of the Interior 1920. Imprisoned by Sayyed Zia. Governor-General of Khurasan May 1924; resigned the next year owing to differences with the military authorities. Took no further part in politics during Reza Shah's time.

Attained an appointment as a kind of chamberlain at the court in 1943. Appointed Governor-General, Azarbaijan, April 1949. Represented Tabriz in Constituent Assembly 1949. Surrendered Governor-Generalship on being appointed a Senator for West Azarbaijan, February 1950. March 1954, appointed Senator for Tabriz.

Has owned large properties near Tabriz, but has spent most of his substance. He is a heavy gambler. An old-timer, not much respected and with a reputation for dishonesty, who hangs around the Shah's Court. Speaks French.

157. Varasteh, Muhammād, 'Ali

Born c. 1890. An official of the Ministry of Finance for many years. Later Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior and in 1942 was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. 1944-46 Governor-General of Isfahan. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Hakim's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948. Joined Hazhir's Cabinet as Minister of Finance September-November 1948. Governor-General, Kerman, August 1949-February 1950. Minister of Health under Mansur April 1950, but transferred to the Ministry of Finance later the same month. Resigned shortly before fall of Cabinet June 1950.

Minister of Finance under Alā, March 1951, and continued in same office under Musaddeq May 1951. Led the Persian delegation to the A.I.O.C. negotiations June 1951 and to the Stokes negotiations in August 1951. Resigned from Ministry of Finance end of 1951, but returned March 1952 until September 1952. November 1952-March 1953, Governor-General of Fars. Appointed Senator for Tehran, March 1954. Absented himself from the vote on the 1954 oil agreement.

A man of weak character and little influence. Unimaginative and obstinate.

158. Yazdān Panāh, Murtezā, General (Sepahbūd)

Born about 1891; son of Mirza Ali Akbar, a small shopkeeper in the village of Sarrdasht. In 1907 he entered the Cossack Cadet School. Received his commission in 1912, showed strong pro-Russian sympathies, and consequently gained rapid promotion. Made lieutenant-colonel in 1919 and colonel in 1920. During the whole of his service he was intimate with Reza Khan, and accompanied him on the march to Tehran in February 1921, which culminated in the *coup d'Etat*. Was promoted general and given command of the Central Division. In July 1927 he fell from favour, and was put under arrest for an unknown reason, but released very soon. In autumn of 1928 he was appointed inspector of the gendarmerie, but was superseded in 1930 and left without any active command.

Inspector of Infantry in 1932. Commandant of Tehran Cadet College, 1933.

On the fall of Reza Shah he became Chief of the General Staff and worked as a loyal supporter of the young Shah.

Appointed adjutant-general to the Shah autumn 1943, a post he still retains. Member of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee February 1944.

Leader of military contingent chosen to represent Persia at Victory Parade in London, June 1946. Minister of War in Hakim's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948; Minister of Roads under Sa'ed, September 1949; accompanied the Shah to the United States November-December 1949; transferred to Ministry of War January 1950, and retained this post under Mansur April-June 1950. Then Head of the Shah's military secretariat and latter's Adjutant-General until May 1951, when he became Minister of War under Musaddeq. Dropped in July 1952, when Musaddeq re-formed his Cabinet. Then returned to his jobs at the Court. October 1953, relinquished the military secretariat post to General Gilanshah. Remained Adjutant-General although he was in the United States during the winter of 1953-54. June 1954, went to the United States with an official sinecure.

He is active, relatively honest, genial and staunchly patriotic, but rather stupid, supporting Musaddeq at Court for well over a year. Full of his own importance. Believed to be an opium-smoker.

Speaks French and Russian and has a Russian wife.

159. Yazdi, Dr. Murtezā

Born about 1900, son of an influential political Mulla of Tehran. Educated first in Tehran and then studied medicine in Germany, where he is reported to have joined the Communist Party. Often represented Tudeh workers in negotiations between them and their employers. In early months of 1946 made a tour of the south and south-east in an effort to whip up Tudeh support and was responsible in large measure for the troubles in Isfahan in April of that year. A member of the Directing Committee of the Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, 1946. Minister of Health under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August-October 1946, when he used his position to fill important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

After the attempt on the Shah's life he was tried with other Tudeh leaders and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement April 1949. Escaped with other Tudeh leaders December 1950. Member of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party. His whereabouts were unknown until March 1955, when he was suddenly discovered and arrested. In July 1955 still being interrogated before facing what would probably be a capital charge.

Considered a good doctor and has a reputation for honesty and firmness of character.

160. Zāhedī, Fazlullāh (Basir-e-Divān), General (Sepahbūd)

Born in Hamadan about 1890. His father was for many years in charge of the late Naser-ul-Mulk's property at Hamadan. Joined the Constitutional movement and was wounded. Joined the Cossacks and thus came into contact with Reza Khan, under whom he served. Commanded the troops at Shiraz in 1922. In 1924 commanded the troops sent to Khuzistan, and helped to arrest the Sheikh of Muhammerah in 1925. Transferred to Resht in 1926, where he commanded the Northern Independent Brigade. Recalled to Tehran December 1928. Commanded the Road Guards 1929. Arrested and degraded for neglect of duty in 1929. Soon after he was pardoned and reinstated. Chief of Police 1931. Relieved of this post after a few months owing to the escape of some prisoners from prison. Dismissed from the army in 1931. Turned his attention to business and became a partner in the "Kazadema" Ford agency. Reinstated in the rank of general 1932 and made aide-de-camp to the Shah. Member of the Iranian commercial delegation to Russia in April 1935, and subsequently visited Central Europe.

Commanded troops at Isfahan 1942, and gradually took charge of all local departments of Government; proof was found that he was working with the Germans, and he was arrested by British troops and taken out of Persia in the autumn of 1942. Released in 1945. Appointed Inspector of the Forces of the South, July 1946. Placed on the retired list June 1949. Successful in first stage of Senate elections in Hamadan autumn 1949. Appointed Chief of Police November 1949. Appointed Senator for Hamadan February 1950 while remaining Chief of Police. Forced to resign from this post May 1950, largely owing to the activities of Razmara, Chief of the General Staff.

Joined Alā's Cabinet as Minister of the Interior April 1951 and continued in this office under

Musaddeq May 1951. Resigned August 1951 following fighting between Tudeh and Dr. Baqa'i's party which he, in his other capacity as Acting Chief of Police, failed to prevent. In August 1952, strongly criticised Musaddeq in the Senate which Musaddeq dissolved soon afterwards; Zahedi then took *bast* in the Majles. Lay fairly low after this until he again took *bast* in July 1953. In August 1953, appointed Prime Minister by the Shah. His first attempt to depose Musaddeq failed, but a few days later (28th Mordad) he was swept into power by a popular uprising in favour of the Shah.

By March 1955 it was clear that the Shah wanted to remove Zahedi from the premiership. Serious differences with Abul Hasan Ebtehaj, Head of the Seven-Year Plan; a heavy swell of corruption around Zahedi; and the latter's indifferent health provided strong grounds. After considerable persuasion Zahedi left the country in April 1955 for medical treatment and, although he had not in so many words offered his resignation, was replaced by Alā. A good number of people felt that Zahedi might still make a comeback.

More of a politician than a soldier, but not sufficiently sensitive to political feeling. Not particularly intelligent and rather stubborn. Has a long record of dishonesty. Being capable of generosity he was not unpopular with the troops under his command. As Chief of Police showed himself active and enterprising and gained a certain popularity. Pleasure-loving and a womaniser. Courageous, and loyal to his friends and supporters to a point where his loyalty seriously complicated his problems as Prime Minister, particularly because of the corruption practised by a number of them.

In spite of his faults he succeeded, as few other Persians probably would, in restoring order and stability in the chaos left by Musaddeq, re-establishing friendly relations with the Western Powers (including resumption of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom) and in carrying the 1954 negotiations with the oil consortium through to a reasonable conclusion. Firmness and prestige were his strong points. He also had the good sense to pick men of the calibre of Abdullah Entezam and Ali Amini for the key posts of Foreign Affairs and Finance respectively, and to let them get on with their jobs.

Married the daughter of Husain Pirnia (Mu'tamen-ul-Mulk) in 1927, but divorced her and subsequently married one of the rich Ettehadieh family.

161. Zand, Ebrāhīm

Born about 1890. Educated at the Cadet College at St. Petersburg and studied law in France. Towards the end of the 1914-18 war became an active member of the *Musavat* Party in Azarbaijan, and in 1919 became a member of the short-lived Azarbaijan Government. After its fall he went back to France, and a few years after returned to Persia, where Davar employed him in the Ministry of Justice as an adviser. He was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and in 1938 became a member of the board of the National Bank. On the appointment of A. H. Ebtehaj as governor he left the bank and was employed at Court as Comptroller of the Royal Accounts. Minister of War in Suhaili's third Cabinet, December 1943. Minister of War in Sa'ed's Cabinets March and April 1944, in Bayat's Cabinet November 1944, Hakim's Cabinet May 1945, and Sadr's Cabinet June 1945. Governor-General, Isfahan, January 1949-February 1950, when appointed Minister of the Interior by Sa'ed. Continued in this office under Mansur for a few weeks and then appointed Governor-General of Azarbaijan April 1950.

Replaced Ebtchaj as governor of the National Bank July 1950. Ambassador to Turkey August 1951 until his appointment in October 1953 as Ambassador to Italy.

Suffers from ill-health and has made frequent trips to Palestine for treatment. A patriotic man with a background of military training of the Russia of Tsarist days. Had sound ideas about eliminating corruption in the army but lacked courage to enforce his will. This bore out his general reputation for being honest but not a very capable administrator.

Married to the sister of Farajullah Behrami. Speaks Russian extremely well, probably better than Persian. One of his daughters is married to Prince Abdur Reza.

162. Zanganeh, Dr. Ahmad Ebrâhim

Born c. 1909. Director of Industrial and Mining Bank and for a time managing director of this Bank. A member of the Iran Party. He had been connected with the Planning Organisation of the Seven-Year Plan for some time before being appointed a member of the Council of the Plan on its creation in May 1949. Resigned to become Minister of P.T.T. under 'Aka, April 1951. Managing-Director of Plan Organisation under Musaddeq, May 1951, until latter's overthrow in August, 1953, when Zanganeh was gaoled by Zahedi. Released in November 1953, when he joined a commercial firm.

Has shown keen interest in economic development schemes but apparently has not very much drive. Well-educated but more theoretical than practical. Left-wing tendencies like other members of the Iran Party. A bit slippery.

163. Zarin-Kafsh, 'Ali Asghar

Born about 1885, of a Tehran family of Kurdish descent. Educated at the Political School in Tehran, and employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in subsidiary posts for several years. 1923-24 was a head of section. Served as "Chef de Cabinet" to Furughi while the latter was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Subsequently posted to Washington, where he spent more than a year as secretary to the Persian Legation. Recalled to Tehran in about 1927, and served in the Ministry of Justice for a time when the Ministry was being fundamentally re-formed. He was also a judge of the Cour de Cassation. Then transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, where he became Under-Secretary and was Acting Minister January to September 1933.

Proceeded to England as commissioner of the Persian Government with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in December 1933, with his wife and two children. Honorary counsellor to the legation in London 1937.

Returned to Persia December 1940. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice from 1941. In 1943 was Acting Minister for a short time. Minister of Finance 1944. Appointed chairman, Industrial and Mining Bank, February 1948. Replaced towards the end of the year. In 1950, on his return to Persia from England, where he had a serious operation, was appointed to the supervisory board for the Seven-Year Plan, remaining there until January 1955.

Speaks English and French.

Zarin-Kafsh is honest and socially most pleasant. Has always been friendly and helpful. In 1945 he joined Sayyed Zia's *Erdesh-e-Melli* Party and has a very high regard for the Sayyed. Has a good reputation generally.